



Yours faithfully
Edward Graham Daves.

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PREFACE.

The following sketches represent for the most part work done by the students in the upper classes of Trinity College. It has not been thought wise to be too stringent in reforming the style of these pieces, but pains have been taken to ensure the reliableness of the facts presented. The work of collecting them was begun with some hesitation, but it is now an assured fact that they will appear regularly in the future.

JOHN S. BASSETT,

Professor of History.

January 1, 1897.

FORT HAMBY ON THE YADKIN.

In March, 1865, General Stoneman left East Tennessee, moving by the turnpike leading from Taylorsville, Tenn., through Watauga county to Deep Gap on the Blue Ridge. On the 26th of March, he entered Boone, N. C., and on the 27th the column was divided, one division under General Stoneman marching towards Wilkesboro, while the other, under General Gillam, crossed the Blue Ridge at Blowing Rock and went to Patterson in Caldwell county, and then joined Stoneman at Wilkesboro. Leaving Wilkesboro on the 31st, General Stoneman moved over into Surry county, going toward Mt. Airy. During the march through this section of the State, Stoneman's men committed many depredations, and after leaving Wilkesboro a number of the lawless element of his command deserted. Shortly after this a number of men, some deserters from Stoneman's command and other worthless characters, led by two desperate men, Wade and Simmons, completely terrorized a large portion of Wilkes county by their frequent raids.

In order to fully understand the situation, the condition of the country at that time must be taken into consideration. Almost every man fit for military service was in the army, and the country was almost completely at the mercy of the robbers. It was thought after Lee had surrendered and the soldiers were returning home, that these depredations would be discontinued but they were not.

These marauders were divided into two bands. One, led by Simmons, had its headquarters in the Brushy Mountains, and the other, led by Wade, had its headquarters near the Yadkin river in Wilkes county. The bands at times operated together, but it is principally with Wade's band that this article is to deal. The house which Wade had chosen and fortified was near the road which leads from

Wilkesboro to Lenoir, in Caldwell county, and about a mile from Holman's Ford, where the valley road crosses the Yadkin river. The house was situated on a high hill, commanding a fine view of the Yadkin valley, and of the valley road for a distance of a mile above and a mile below the ford. The house fronted the river on the south while the rear was protected by the "Flat Woods" belt, in which there was sympathizers if not aiders and abettors of the band. From this position the Yadkin valley and the surrounding country for at least half a mile in every direction could be swept and controlled by Wade's guns. There is a legend that this point was chosen by Daniel Boone as a splendid military post to protect himself against the Indians. At any rate it would have been almost impossible to choose a stronger location, both offensive and defensive, than this. The house was built of oak logs, and was two stories high. In the upper story Wade had cut port holes for his guns, which were army guns of the most improved type, and could command the approaches to the house from all directions, making it indeed hazardous to attempt to reach it. This house belonged to some dissolute women by the name of Hamby, and after Wade had fortified it, the name by which it was known was "Fort Hamby." "The exact number of men engaged in these depredations is unknown though it has been stated on good authority to have at no time exceeded thirty." (Hon. R. Z. Linney, Col. G. W. Flowers.)

Making this their headquarters, they began to plunder the surrounding country, and from their cruelty it appears that their object was to gratify a spirit of revenge as well as to enrich themselves. They marched as a well-drilled military force, armed with the best rifles. It was only a short time before they brought the citizens for many miles around in every direction under their dominion. They plundered the best citizens, subjecting men and women to the grossest insults. Their cruelty is shown by this act:

A woman was working in a field near Holman's Ford, having a child with her. The child climbed on the fence and the men began to shoot at it, and finally killed it. Emboldened by their success in Wilkes county, they made a raid into Caldwell county on the 7th of May. Major Harvey Bingham, with about half a dozen young men from Caldwell and Watauga counties, attempted to route these murderers from their stronghold at Fort Hamby. On Sunday night after their raid into Caldwell, Major Bingham made a well planned move on the fort, at a late hour of the night. For some reason, Wade and his men were not aware of the approach of Bingham's men until they had entered the house. Wade and his men announced their defenseless condition, and begged for their lives. No guns were seen, and they were, so Bingham believed, his prisoners. They gave Wade and his men time to dress, after which, at a moment when the captors were off their guard, they rushed to their guns, which were concealed about their beds, and opened fire on them. The result was that Clark, a son of General Clark, of Caldwell county, and Henley, from the same county, were killed. The others escaped, leaving the bodies of Clark and Henley.

Being encouraged by the failure to dislodge them, they began to enlarge the territory which they were to plunder. About a week previous to this, Simmons with his band had crossed into Alexander county and had made a raid on Col. McCurdy, a well-to-do planter.

About this time Mr. W. C. Green, of Alexander county, who had been a Lieutenant in the Confederate Army, received news from a friend in Wilkes county that Wade had planned to move into Alexander county and make a raid on his father, Rev. J. B. Green, and to kill him (W. C. Green) if found. Mr. Green began to fortify his house, barring all the doors with iron. They also took five negroes into their confidence and these promised to assist in defending the house against Wade. It was found out that

they had in the house fire-arms enough to shoot eighteen times without re-loading. Weapons were also provided for the negroes.

Wade started across the Brushy mountains on Saturday, May 13th, and reached Mr. Green's that evening about dark. Mr. W. C. Green saw a number of men stop their horses in the road above the house, and he concluded that they were Wade's men. He notified his father, and mustered the negroes in the dining hall. All the lights were extinguished through the moon was shining brightly. Mr. J. B. Green stationed himself at the front door, with a revolver in one hand and a dirk in the other. Mr. W. C. Green took his position at a window commanding a view of the front gate and porch. The negroes were stationed in the rear part of the house. Three men with guns approached the house in the front, one of them being Wade who had on a bright Confederate uniform which he always wore on his raids, posing as a Confederate soldier when necessary to gain admission into the houses he wished to plunder. The other members of the company took another route and surrounded the house from the rear, though this was not known at the time. Wade pretended that that they were confederate soldiers; that they had belonged to the cavalry and were now on their way home, having been detained on account of sickness. Mr. J. B. Green told him "he lied, that he knew who he was, and that he could not enter his house except over his dead body."

Some of the men had by this time come up from the rear and were trying to force an entrance. When this fact was made known to Mr. W. C. Green by one of the negroes, he rushed to the rear, knocked out a pane of glass and opened fire on them, wounding one of the men. This unexpected turn of affairs seemed to frighten them and they all began to retire. Mr. J. B. Green and Mr. W. C. Green rushed into the yard and opened fire on them as they retreated. Wade and his men at the same time returning

the fire. They retreated so rapidly that two of the men left their horses.

It was Sunday morning before the news was circulated. Mr. W. C. Green went to York Collegiate Institute and informed several men, and by 10 o'clock twenty-two men, almost all of them Confederate soldiers, had gathered, ready to pursue the robbers. In this party were several officers of the Confederate army and they were dressed in their uniforms. Col. Wash. Sharpe was placed in command of the squad and they started in pursuit. The first news from Wade was when they reached "Law's Gap." Here it was found that Wade had camped in the Brushy mountains part of the night after the attack on Mr. Green, and about sunrise the next morning had made a raid on Mr. Laws and forced him to give up his money. He informed the party that two of Wade's men were wounded. The pursuers followed the trail and found that five miles from Wilkesboro Wade's men had left the public road and had taken a shorter route by way of Hix's Mill and Holman's ford to Fort Hamby. The ford was reached in the evening of May 14th, and after crossing the river, and traveling along the public road for about half a mile, the pursuing party left the public road and followed a private road which led to a creek at the base of the hill on which the Hamby house stood. "In the plan of attack, part of the company under Col. G. W. Flowers was to approach from the north while the other part under Capt. Ellis, was to approach from the south, and then surround the house. In the enthusiasm of the moment all seemed to forget the danger. Col. Flowers' men had gotten within 75 yards, and Capt. Ellis' men within 20 yards of the house when its defenders poured a volley of minnie balls through the port holes." (Hon. R. Z. Linney.) James K. Linney and Jones Brown were killed. Linney had charged bravely across the field and was killed on the east side of the house; Brown was charging up the hill on the west side when he

was wounded. Some of the men were compelled to jump from their houses and throw themselves on the ground in order to escape being shot down. Their horses became frightened and breaking loose from them, ran to where Wade's men had their horses. Two of these horses were the ones captured from Wade at Mr. Green's. These men did not recover their horses at this time.

Under the severe fire the men were compelled to retreat. The force was now divided, part having fallen back across the creek, and part having reached the pines east of the building. There was no chance to re-unite, and after waiting until dark, the men withdrew, some reaching Moravian Falls that night. These met the others at "'Squire" Hubbard's the next morning. In retreating under the severe fire from the fort, the men were compelled to leave the bodies of Linney and Brown. Wade's men afterwards buried them near the fort.

These men returned to Alexander county and raised a large company, a strong force having been brought from Iredell county under the command of Wallace Sharpe. On Wednesday the force started towards Fort Hamby. After crossing Cove's Gap, a courier was sent back to Iredell county to request Capt. Cowan to raise a company and come to their assistance; also, another courier was sent to Statesville to an encampment of Federal soldiers to inform them of the condition of things and to ask their assistance. Before reaching Moravian Falls, they received a message from Wade, saying, "Come on; I am looking for you; I can whip a thousand of you." It was dark when Holman's ford was reached. Some one in the woods before the company, ordered them to halt. The men thought that the order was from some of Wade's band and was about to fire upon them, when it was found out that this was a company from Caldwell county, under the command of Capt. Isaac Oxford, on the same mission. They had encamped near the ford and had thrown out their sentinels. The two

companies camped together that night, and the next morning marched up the river and crossed at a small ford. They came to the house of Mr. Talbert, who lived on the public road, and there they found a woman dying. She had been shot the day before by the men from the fort, while she and her husband were coming to the ford in a wagon, on the opposite side of the river from the fort—nearly a mile distant.

Mr. Talbert begged the men to return, telling them that Wade was expecting them, and had sent for re-enforcements. He told them that it was impossible to dislodge him, and to make an attempt and fail would make it worse for the people.

Capt. R. M. Sharpe, of Alexander county, assumed command of both companies, numbering several hundred men. W. R. Gweltney was sent with a small body of men to reach a high hill, overlooking a creek (Lenoir's Fork), and to remain there while all the others marched around to the north and east of the fort. Gweltney's men were to be notified by the firing of a gun, when the main body had reached their position. One or two men were seen to escape from the fort before it could be surrounded. They were fired at but escaped. The supposition was that they had gone to get re-enforcements from the other band. The companies had left their encampment before day, and by daybreak the fort was surrounded, the men being placed about twenty steps apart. The soldiers kept up the fire on the fort during the day and night. Wade's men returning the fire, shooting with great accuracy. The soldiers were compelled to keep behind logs and trees, or out of range of the guns. It seemed impossible to take the fort. "Some of the bravest men were in favor of giving it up, while others said death was preferable to being run over by such devils." (Rev. W. R. Gweltney.)

This state of affairs continued until the night of the 19th, when the lines were moved nearer up, and about 4

o'clock in the morning Wallace Sharpe, W. A. Daniel, M. W. Hill, and J. L. Millsaps crept from their posts to a crib where the robbers had tied their horses and untied them, after which they were led away. From the crib these men crept up to the kitchen. It was found that some of Wade's men had prepared breakfast, but were compelled to leave it. The kitchen was set on fire, and the flames soon reached the fortress. The fact that the building was on fire seemed to completely unnerve Wade's men. "What terms will you give us?" cried out Wade. "We will shoot you," replied Sharpe, from behind the burning kitchen.

It was now about daybreak, and some of the men surrounding the fort began to rush up. Wade made a rush towards the river, through a body of Caldwell men, who opened fire on him, but as it was yet a little dark, he escaped. Four men were captured, Beck, Church, Loockwad, and one whose name cannot be ascertained. The flames which had caught the fort were extinguished, and in the house was found property of almost every description. Fine ladies' dresses and bonnets had been taken for the dissolute women who occupied the house. About twenty horses were found stabled near the fort. Some of the property was restored to the owners. The men who were captured plead for a trial according to the course and practice of the courts. They were informed that they would be disposed of as summarily as they had disposed of Clark, Henley, Brown and Linney. Stakes were put up, and on the way to the place of execution they were given time to pray. They knelt down to pray, but the prayer was "O, men, spare us." Wallace Sharpe replied: "Men, pray to Jesus. He alone can save you." Capt. Sharpe requested W. R. Gwaltney to pray, but he replied that he never felt so little like praying in his life. Capt. Isaac Oxford said, "If you will hold my gun I will pray;" but instead of praying for the men, he thanked God that they were to be

brought to justice and that none of the party had been killed. After this Rev. W. R. Gwaltney offered an earnest prayer for them, and then they were shot, "as nearly in strict conformity to military usage as these old Confederate soldiers, under the excitement of the occasion could conform to."

After the prisoners were shot, the fort was set on fire. When the flames reached the cellar, the firing of guns was like a hot skirmish. Wade's men had stored away a great many loaded guns, and a large quantity of ammunition.

Wade was seen in the vicinity several days after. He claimed to have been a major in Stoneman's command and a native of Michigan. He said that he had escaped to the Yadkin river from the fort and had hid under the banks until night; that in searching for him the soldiers had frequently come within six feet of him.

On the way back to Alexander county Capt. Cowan, from Iredell, was met with a small body of men on their way to Fort Hamby. Also a company of Federal troops, then stationed in Statesville, were met on their way to the fort. They were told what had been done. "The captain ordered three cheers, which the men gave with a good will." (Dr. W. C. Green.)

The bodies of Linney and Brown were brought back home for final burial.

Though all the desperadoes were not brought to justice, this completely broke up their depredations.

ROBT. L. FLOWERS.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
KU KLUX CLAN.

The most interesting epoch in the history of the South is that period from 1865 to 1870, known as the "Reconstruction Era." After the surrender at Appomattox our fathers returned to their homes and began to gather up the fragments of the social, civil and political wreck, in order to form them into institutions to suit their new conditions of life. The difficulties under which they labored were extreme. They had to contend, first, with their own prejudices as a proud, though conquered, people; second, the character of those agents of the United States government, who were, many of them, mere adventurers, without the best interests of the South at heart; third, the class of unprincipled men of our own country whom the fortunes of war had placed in power; fourth, the negro race, so recently slaves, now masters of themselves, and without the capability of using their liberty. Add to these the complete upheaval of society, in which some of its worst elements, for a time, floated upon the surface, also the passions of war and lawlessness still rampant in the hearts of men, and you will have some faint idea of the problems that confronted the Southern people.

It was during this period and under these circumstances that the Ku Klux Clan came into existence, spread from Texas to Virginia, and passed out of life, as it had come, shrouded in mystery. As a secret organization it kept its secret, despite the decrees of States, the investigating committee of Congress, and the torture of its individual members.

However much men may become educated, there is still something in their natures over which the wierd and the unknown wields a mysterious power, while over the ignorant and the lawless it is doubly potent. This movement was peculiar to the time and illustrates this power of the silent and the mysterious. It also illustrates how men

may, by the instruments of their own creation, be borne into lines of action wholly foreign to their first intentions.

“The popular idea supposes the Ku Klux movement to have been conceived in malice, and nursed by prejudice and hate, for lawlessness, rapine and murder.” Many of the incidents which occurred during that dark period confirm this view. (Mr. Tourgee’s book treating of this period, and many of the chapters in “Three Decades of Federal Legislation,” by Sunset Cox, strenuously uphold this idea of the Ku Klux organization). The object of this paper is to get at the real facts, and by them arrive at a true estimate of the character and objects of this celebrated organization.

Pulaski, Tennessee, a town of about three thousand inhabitants, was the birthplace of the “Ku Klux Clan.” It is the county seat of Giles, one of the southern counties of Middle Tennessee, and is situated on the Louisville, Nashville and Great Southern R. R., almost directly south of Nashville. Before the war its people were cultured and wealthy. The war destroyed their wealth, but their culture is retained, and it is a town of schools and churches. Its inhabitants show none of those traits which the popular idea would ascribe to the people among whom the Ku Klux originated. “There, in 1866, the name of Ku Klux first fell from human lips.” This organization was the result of the peculiar social, civil and political condition of the South from the close of the war to 1869.

After the struggle was over, the young men of Pulaski, like many other Southern men, passed through a period of inactivity. Business habits were broken up; few had the capital to enter at once upon agricultural or commercial pursuits. There were no amusements or social recreations to relieve the intense reaction which followed the exciting scenes of war. In May, 1866, a few of these young men happened to be together in the office of one of the leading members of the Pulaski bar. Sometime in the evening

during the conversation one of them remarked: "Boys, let us get up a club or society of some description." A lively discussion followed, and before separating they agreed to invite some others, and to meet again in the same place. On the following evening eight or ten young men assembled and effected a temporary organization by the election of a chairman and secretary. The members were all agreed as to the objects of the organization, which were diversion and amusement. They spent the evening in discussing the best methods of attaining these ends. They also appointed two committees, one to select a name, and the other to draw up the rules for the society, and to form the ritual for the initiation of new members. The club then adjourned to meet the following week.

Mr. Tourgee ridicules the idea of amusement connected with this movement, and cites the pride and dignity of the Southern men. He speaks of them as suddenly becoming a "race of jesters, moonlight masqueraders and personators of the dead. It was a funny thing," he says, "for the gravest, most saturnine and self-conscious people on the globe to make themselves ridiculous, ghostly masqueraders by the hundred thousand." He, as well as many others, was laboring under a mistake as to the number of the Ku Klux, nor does he take into account the factors which afterward entered into the organization. He did not understand the character of the movement, nor did he realize that there was a great and noble purpose behind those fantastic gowns. As for his opinions of the Southern people, his views are extremely prejudiced.

During the week following the last meeting, a prominent citizen of Pulaski went to Columbus, Miss., on business, taking his family with him. He invited one of the leading spirits of the movement to take care of and sleep at his house. This young man invited the club to meet with him there, which they did; and the owner, who outlived the Ku Klux Clan, never knew that his house had been their

meeting place. The house afterward came into the hands of Judge H. M. Spofford, and is still the home of his widow.

The committee appointed to select a name had some difficulty in deciding upon one which would represent the character and objects of the society. Among those presented for consideration was that of "Kukloi," from the Greek word Kuklos, meaning a band or circle, whereupon some one exclaimed, call it Ku Klux. Klan was afterwards added to complete the alliteration. Thus, instead of their first intention, they had chosen a name meaningless to themselves as to every one else. It is true that Shakespeare says, "What's in a name? that which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," but it is doubtful if the organization would have ever reached such large proportions and wielded so great a power had it been called by some commonplace name, signifying its character and objects. Strange as it may seem, the members themselves were the first to feel its wierd effect, and began to shape their plans in harmony with the name they had chosen.

Amusement was still their object, but now it was to be sought by means of secrecy and mystery; so, when the committee on rules reported, the plan was modified accordingly. These are the officers of the plan finally adopted: "A Grand Cyclops, or President; a Grand Magi, or Vice-President; a Grand Turk, or Marshal; a Grand Exchequer, or Treasurer, and two Lictors." The latter were the sentinels of the "Den," as they called their place of meeting.

The obligation for membership was to maintain profound secrecy with reference to the order and everything pertaining to it. They were not allowed to tell that they were Ku Klux, nor were they allowed to disclose the name of any member. It was against the constitution to invite any one to join the order. However, a member might say to some desirable man, "I am going to join the Ku Klux."

If the person expressed a desire to do likewise the member would say: "Well, I think I know how to get in. Meet me at such a place, on such a night, at such an hour, and we will join together."

"Each member was required to provide himself with the following outfit: A white mask for the face, with holes for the eyes and nose; a tall fantastic cardboard hat so constructed as to increase the wearer's apparent height; a gown or robe of sufficient length to cover the entire person." As to color and style, each used his individual taste in selecting the most hideous and grotesque patterns. Each member carried a small whistle, by which they communicated with each other according to a selected code of signals. Such preparations bear the stamp of amusement and pranks and not of deviltry. Some may wonder where the fun came in. First, in arousing curiosity and then in baffling it; second, in the initiation of members.

The initiations at first took place in the law office, but it was small and situated in the business part of the town, and there was much danger of interruption from outsiders. However, the members soon found a more suitable place for their meetings. On a ridge west of the town there once stood a large mansion, with a brick front or main building, and an "L" built of wood. In December, 1865, a cyclone destroyed the main building, leaving the "L" standing. It consisted of three rooms, from one of which a stairway led to a large cellar beneath. This they selected as their "den," and a ghostly place it must have been; a lonely wind-swept ridge, with the trees uprooted and torn by the storm, standing like gaunt spectres of death overlooking the dark, deserted cellar.

When a meeting was held one Lictor was stationed in front of the house and the other about fifty yards on the road coming out from Pulaski. Each of them, dressed in their fantastic robes, bore a great spear as the badge of their office.

When a candidate was to be initiated, he and the member approached the first Lictor, who, after asking some questions, blew his whistle for the other to come and take charge of the novices. The candidate was then blindfolded, under the impression that his companion was treated likewise. He was then led around through the three rooms and down into the cellar, different objects being placed before him from time to time, which added, at least, to his discomfort. The obligation of secrecy was then administered, and a series of more or less absurd questions was asked. After this the Grand Cyclops commanded: "Place him before the royal altar and adorn his head with the regal crown." The "royal altar" was a looking-glass. The "regal crown" was a huge hat, bedecked with two enormous donkey ears. "In this head-gear the candidate was placed before the mirror and directed to repeat the couplet:"

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as ithers see us."

As he uttered the last words the Grand Turk removed the bandage from his eyes, and he beheld his own ludicrous image in the glass. This was a signal for all the members to engage in shouts of laughter.

In the early history of the order they were very careful about the character of those initiated, as a single unreliable man could have spoiled all the fun by divulging their secrets. Some of their methods in disposing of undesirable candidates are amusing. In one instance they had the candidate to meet them on top of a long slope, just back of the town. Without being blindfolded, he was led before the Grand Cyclops, who, being mounted on a stump so that his robe concealed it, appeared fully ten feet tall. After asking him some questions, the Grand Cyclops ordered the Lictors to blindfold the candidate and proceed; whereupon they proceeded to put him into a large barrel and to start the barrel rolling down the hill.

These details show the early character of the organization, and that its originators had no idea of lawlessness, or of the powerful character it afterwards assumed.

During the months of July and August, 1866, the Ku Klux mystery was the topic of the day in and around Pulaski. Newspapers and excited tongues scattered the news abroad over the country, so that, about the time all the eligible material in the town was used up, young men from the country, impelled by curiosity, came to join the order. These soon asked permission to establish "dens" in the country, which, although no provision had been made for it, was granted. Thus "dens" were established in the surrounding country with various modifications of the Ritual, but with the same injunction of secrecy, mystery, and the character of the men admitted.

During the latter part of the year 1866 the Clan spread rapidly. A stranger, visiting one of the "infected" regions, would be initiated, and return home with permission to establish a "den" in his own neighborhood. Under this method of organization, the links between the various Clans were not very strong; but, by a sort of common agreement, the Grand Cyclops of the Pulaski "den" was considered the head of the order. So far, there was no need of strong organization, as amusement was still the chief end in view. The members enjoyed the wild speculations of the mystified public even more than the rough sport of initiating candidates.

Such is the history of the Ku Klux Clan from June, 1866, to April, 1867; but during all this time it had been gradually taking on new features, which finally transformed it into a band of "Regulators." The transformation was brought about by several causes: "(1) The impression made by the order upon the minds of those who united with it; (2) the impression made upon the public by its wierd and mysterious methods; (3) the anomalous and peculiar condition of affairs in the South at that time."

The popular idea was that the order had a great mission in view, and, with this idea, many sought connection with it, and after initiation this conviction was deepened rather than dissipated by the sport. Though there was nothing in the ritual to indicate it, the high-sounding titles, the wonderful dress and the formidable obligation seemed to indicate more than mere sport.

The second cause of the transformation was the impression of the Clan upon the public. At first there were many travelers along the road by the deserted house upon the hill. These generally passed the grim and ghostly Lictor in silence and as hurriedly as possible. Sometimes one would ask, "Who are you?" "In awful sepulchral tones, the invariable answer was, 'A spirit from the other world. I was killed at Chicamauga.'" An answer like this, amid such surroundings, with the "den" in the distance, from which issued such strange, unearthly sounds, was calculated to inspire fear, especially if the person was a superstitious negro. Such incidents as this, both in the town and country, soon gave rise to innumerable stories, which soon had their effect upon the public. Night travel in Ku Klux localities ceased, and the negroes were especially quiet wherever the Ku Klux made their appearance. In this way the members came to realize the wonderful power of their methods over the minds of men. They soon saw, also, how much good might be done among certain classes for the welfare of the country and the protection of property.

The most powerful of the causes of transformation was the condition of the South, because it furnished the foundation for the other two. Few have realized fully the peculiar state of affairs at the South during this period. The world has passed sentence upon the South and upon the Ku Klux, without considering the circumstances by which they were surrounded. There were two causes of trouble and vexation which the people were not in a mood

to tolerate, one of which was a class of unprincipled men whom the great upheaval had cast upon the surface of society. Not simply because they were Union men, as Mr. Tourgee would have us believe, but because they were traitors to both sides, and sought only their own ends, were they hated. They strove to keep alive the hatred and bitterness between the factions, in order that they might remain in power. Their effect upon the social, civil and political institutions of the South was disastrous in the extreme.

Another class was that of the newly freed negroes. Suddenly passing from slaves to citizens, they mistook liberty for license, and were totally incapable of using their liberty in the right way. The negro looked upon liberty as freeing him, not only from his master, but from the laws made by his master. The Union League was also a very important factor as furnishing a means of uniting the negroes under the leadership of bad white men.

Civil law was very partially executed, and there was an amount of lawlessness hitherto unknown in the South. "Under their fear of the dreaded Ku Klux, the negroes made more progress in a few months in the needed lessons of self-control, industry, respect for the rights of property and general good behavior, than they would have done in as many years, but for this or some equally powerful impulse."

Up to the beginning of the year 1867, the performances of the Ku Klux were mostly within the bounds of reason, but in some cases they had overstepped those bounds. Bad men had gotten into the organization, and, in order to control them, it became imperatively necessary to organize the Clan on a more thorough basis, so as to remedy the evils which had crept into the order. With this object in view, the Grand Cyclops of the Pulaski "den" sent out a request for all the "dens" to send delegates to a convention to be held in Nashville early in the summer of 1867.

The convention met and adopted a plan of organization, which, but for one source of weakness, made this "one of the most perfectly organized orders that ever existed in the world."

The whole territory covered by the Clan was called the "Invisible Empire." This was divided into "realms," corresponding to the States. The realms were divided into "dominions" coterminous with the counties, and the dominions into "dens." Officers were assigned to each department, and, except the supreme officer, their duties were minutely specified. These officers were as follows: "The Grand Wizard of the Invisible Empire and his ten Genii; the Grand Dragon of the Realm and his eight Hydras; the Grand Titan of the Dominion and his six Furies; the Grand Cyclops of the Den and his two Night Hawks; a Grand Monk; a Grand Scribe; a Grand Exchequer; a Grand Turk and a Grand Sentinel."

The most important action taken by the Nashville convention was the declaration of the principles of the order, which was as follows: "We recognize our relations to the United States government; the supremacy of the constitution; the constitutional laws thereof; and the union of the States thereunder." If these men were banded together for the overthrow of all law and government, this is indeed a strange declaration, for it was not meant for general circulation or for its effect. We must accept it as a declaration of their political relations to the government of the land.

This convention also defined the objects of the order, which were as follows:

(1.) "To protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenceless, from the indignities, wrongs and outrages of the lawless, the violent and the brutal; to relieve the injured and the oppressed; to succor the suffering, and especially the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.

(2.) "To protect and defend the Constitution of the Unit-

ed States, and all laws passed in conformity thereto, and to protect the states and people thereof from all invasion from any source whatever.

(3.) "To aid and assist in the execution of all constitutional laws, and to protect the people from unlawful seizure, and from trial except by their peers in conformity to the laws of the land,"

This last declaration was the result of the infamous legislation and the more infamous execution of law in the South during that period. Those familiar with the history of our state will acknowledge the great need for some such organization, with just such purpose as the above, during the days when Kirk and his men were part of the executive department of the State. Whatever history may say, the Ku Klux was almost a necessity at the South during the reconstruction for the protection of life, liberty and the rights of prosperity.

As before stated the main object of the Nashville convention was to secure a better control of their own members, so as to prevent outrages credited, whether rightly or not, to the Ku Klux.

Their great object now was to carry out their role of Regulators within the limits of law and order. Their methods were to remain the same. Secrecy and mystery were to be the instruments for securing law and order among the lawless and the ignorant. Steps were taken to deepen the powerful impressions already made on the public. Every device was used to play upon the fears of the superstitious. Therefore the Grand Dragon of the State of Tennessee sent out an order to the chief officers of the 'provinces' for a general parade in the streets of the chief town in each province on the night of July 4, 1867. (The account of this parade in the town of Pulaski will describe them all.)

On the morning of the appointed day, July 4, 1867, the citizens of Pulaski found slips of paper scattered along their sidewalks with the following words printed on them: "The

Ku Klux will parade the streets to-night." This announcement created the wildest excitement. The long pent-up curiosity of the people was to be satisfied. They would, at least, find out who the Ku Klux were. Many people came in from the country to witness the parade. The Ku Klux also started to the town. Having carefully concealed their paraphernalia, they traveled in squads of three or four, and, if questioned, they answered that they were going to Pulaski to see the parade. After dark they assembled, by previous agreement, at four points near the four main roads leading into the town, and put on their disguises and robes. Their horses were also disguised in flashy colored cloth. A sky-rocket sent up was the signal to move. "The different companies met and passed each other in the public square in perfect silence; the discipline appeared perfect. Not a word was spoken. Orders were given by means of the whistles. In single-file, in death-like stillness, with funeral slowness they marched and counter-marched throughout the town." By marching in unbroken circles up one street and down another they created the impression of vast numbers. This was kept up for two hours, and the Ku Klux departed as silently as they came, "The public were more mystified than ever, curiosity had not been satisfied." It had found out absolutely nothing.

One of the principal illusions growing out of this parade was the impression of numbers. The coolest judgments placed it at three thousand, while some went up to ten thousand; when in fact there were only four hundred men in this parade. This has been a common mistake. Gen. Forest before the investigating committee, placed the number of Ku Klux in the South at 550,000, which must be a mistake, as it is hardly probable that the whole male population of the South were Ku Klux, or that a majority of them knew anything about the order, except from common report.

Some of the devices resorted to by the Ku Klux for ter-

rifying the negroes and others were unique. During the parade at Pulaski, as it was passing a corner where a negro was standing, one of the horsemen, dressed in a hideous garb, dismounted and stretched out his bridal rein to the negro as if he wished him to hold his horse. The frightened darky held out his hand to receive it, and, as he did so, the Ku Klux took off his own head, apparently, and offered to place that also in the extended hand. "The negro stood not upon the order of his going but departed with a yell of terror." Another trick was for a ghostly looking horseman to stop before the cabin of some negro needing a wholesome lesson, and ask for a drink of water. If a gourd or dipper was brought it was declined, and a bucket of water demanded. Then, as if burning with thirst, the Ku Klux would press the bucket to his lips until the last drop was drained into an oiled sack concealed beneath his robe. He then returned the empty bucket with the remark, "That's good. It is the first drink of water I have had since I was killed at Shiloh." This, with a few words of admonition as to future conduct, made an impression not soon forgotten by the superstitious darky.

We now come to a second transformation of the Ku Klux; this time from a band of "Regulators" to a combination of desperate men struggling for life and honor against the worst elements of their own order, and against circumstances growing out of their own methods. The causes of this transformation may be classed under three heads: (1.) "Unjust charges. (2.) Misapprehension of the nature and objects of the order on the part of those not members of it. (3.) Unwise and over severe legislation."

What had been their strength become now their weakness. Outsiders and even members themselves made use of their methods of secrecy to practice deception upon other people and upon the Clan itself. Bad men made use of the disguise to perpetrate deeds of violence for personal reasons, and the odium fell upon the Ku Klux. These

men did not do these things under orders of the Clan, nor in connection with it.

The very class whom the Clan was trying to keep in order made use of its methods to commit outrages which were credited to the Clan. These men always declared themselves to be Ku Klux, *which members of the Clan never did*. In every case they proved to be negroes or “radical” supporters of the carpet bagger governments. “No single instance occurred of the arrest of a masked man who proved to be—when stripped of his disguise—a Ku Klux.” (See testimony of Gen. Gordon and others before the Investigation Committee.)

However, the Clan was credited with all the disorders in the country, because the disguises which it had invented were used, and it had no way of clearing itself of the accusations. It had sought to clothe itself in mystery, and, as a consequence, people misunderstood its objects. They did not realize the great end it had in view. After the awe of the ignorant and lawless had subsided, hatred of the Clan took its place. The negroes organized and went armed for the purpose of exterminating the Ku Klux, and on several occasions the Clan was fired into. This brought on the vengeance of the Clan, and so it went on, each side believing it was right and the other wrong. This misunderstanding is well brought out in the following order issued by the Grand Dragon of Tennessee, in the fall of 1868:

HEADQUARTERS REALM No. 1, }
DREADFUL ERA, BLACK EPOCH, }
DREADFUL HOUR. }

General Order No. 1.

WHEREAS, information of an authentic character has reached these headquarters that the blacks in the counties of Marshall, Maury, Giles and Lawrence are organized into military companies, with the avowed purposes to make war upon and exterminate the Ku Klux Clan; said blacks are

hereby solemnly warned and ordered to desist from further action in such organizations, if they exist.

The Grand Dragon regrets the necessity of such an order. But this Clan shall not be outraged and interfered with by lawless negroes and meaner white men, who do not and never have understood our purposes.

In the first place this Clan is not an institution of violence, lawlessness and cruelty; it is not lawless; it is not aggressive; it is not military; it is not revolutionary.

It is essentially, originally and inherently a protective organization. It proposes to execute law instead of resisting it; and to protect all good men, whether white or black, from the outrages and atrocities of bad men of both colors, who have been for the past three years a terror to society, and an injury to us all.

The blacks seem to be impressed with the belief that this Clan is especially their enemy. We are not the enemy of the blacks, as long as they behave themselves, make no threats upon us, and do not attack or interfere with us. But if they make war upon us they must abide the awful retribution that will follow.

This Clan, while in its peaceful movements, and disturbing no one, has been fired into three times. This will not be endured any longer; and if it occurs again, and the parties be discovered, a remorseless vengeance will be wreaked upon them.

We reiterate that we are for peace and law and order. No man, white or black, shall be molested for his political sentiments. This Clan is not a political party; it is not a military party; it is a protective organization, and will never use violence except in resisting violence.

Outrages have been perpetrated by irresponsible parties in the name of this Clan. Should such parties be apprehended, they will be dealt with in a manner to insure us future exemption from such imposition. These impostors have, in some instances, whipped negroes. This is wrong!

wrong! It is denounced by this Clan, as it must be by all good and humane men.

The Clan now, as in the past, is prohibited from doing such things. We are striving to protect all good, peaceful, well-disposed and law-abiding men, whether white or black.

The Grand Dragon deems this order due to the public, due to the Clan, and due to those who are misguided and misinformed. We, therefore, request that all newspapers who are friendly to law and peace and the public welfare, will publish the same. By order of

THE GRAND DRAGON OF REALM No. 1.

By the Grand Scribe.

Matters continued to grow from bad to worse, until it became necessary for the government to interfere, and we have the famous "Anti-Ku Klux law," passed in Tennessee in 1868. This law was severe in the extreme. The following are some of its principle features :

(1.) "It was *ex post facto*.

(2.) "It presented no way in which a man could relieve himself of liability to it, except by turning informer, and, as an inducement to do this, a large bribe was offered.

(3.) It encouraged strife by making every inhabitant of the State an officer extraordinary, with power "to arrest without process," when he had ground to suspect.

(4.) It emphasized loyalty to the government, which meant simply to become a subservient tool; such men as Gov. Brownlow, Gov. Holden and their tribe.

(5.) While the law professed to be aimed at suppression of all lawlessness, it was not so construed and enforced by the party in power. No attempt was made to suppress the "Union" or "Loyal League," which met often and was as lawless as the Ku Klux.

Many of the States passed laws making it easy to secure military rule in any section, which in many cases was done,

and a perfect reign of terror followed. The Ku Klux felt themselves outlawed without an opportunity of defending themselves openly, and hence some of their rashest actions. But be it said to their honor, they bore it more patiently than would have been expected under the circumstances.

✓ Early in the year 1869 it was decided best for the Clan to disband, and a proclamation was issued from the "Grand Wizard of the Empire to his subjects." This proclamation stated the legislation against the Ku Klux, and declared that the order had now accomplished the greater part of the objects for which it had existed. "At a time when the civil law afforded inadequate protection to life and property; when robbery and lawlessness of every description were unrebuked; when all the better elements of society were in constant dread for the safety of their property, persons and families, the Clan had afforded protection and security to many firesides, and in many ways contributed to the public welfare. But greatly to the regret of all good citizens, some members of the Clan had violated positive orders; others, under the name and disguises of the organization, had assumed to do acts of violence, for which the Clan was held responsible."

✓ Members were directed to destroy all the paraphernalia of the order, and were counseled to uphold the law, and aid all good citizens, in the future, as in the past.

The proclamation of disbandment was issued to all the Realms, Dominions, and Dens of the Invisible Empire. But, as the newspapers were forbidden to publish anything from the Ku Klux, and the Dens were scattered over many states, this proclamation was long in reaching some of them. In this state there were many deeds attributed to the Ku Klux long after the proclamation of disbandment, but the order had no organized existence after March, 1869.

"Thus lived, so died, this strange order. Its birth was an accident; its growth a comedy; its death a tragedy. It owed its existence wholly to the anomalous condition of

social and civil affairs in the South during the years immediately succeeding the unfortunate contest in which so many brave men in blue and gray fell, martyrs to their convictions.’’

SANDERS DENT.

NOTE.—In the preparation of this paper I have referred freely to “The Ku Klux Klan” by J. C. Lester and D. L. Wilson.

S. S. D.

RALEIGH’S “NEW FORT IN VIRGINIA”*—1585.

Our many centennial celebrations within the past score of years, culminating in the glories of the 400th anniversary of the voyage of Columbus, have awakened a widespread interest in early American history, and in all the incidents connected with the Genesis of the United States. Patriotic associations, both of men and women, have sprung up throughout the country, whose aim is to encourage research among our annals, and to cherish a spirit of reverence for our historic past. Many, too, are looking anxiously at the possible effect upon our institutions and national character of the dangerous experiment of absorbing into the body politic the heterogeneous elements of all Europe; and the tendency of this trend of thought and study is to emphasize anew the fact of our Anglican origin, and to bring home to us vividly the truth that we owe what we are as a nation to our English blood and traditions.

Monuments have been erected to mark various historic spots, and now on the coast of California, where in 1579 anchored the fleet of Sir Francis Drake, in his memorable circumnavigation of the globe—(the next after that of Magellan)—and where his chaplain, Francis Fletcher, held the Anglican service on the shore for the crews and the savage natives—there is rising a large stone cross—a con-

*The quotations in the text, unless otherwise stated, are from *Hakluyt’s Voyages*, Vol. III. For a discussion of the fate of the lost colony, see an article by Prof. S. B. Weeks of Trinity College, North Carolina, in the papers of the *American Historical Society*, Vol. V.

spicuous landmark as seen from the ocean in bold relief against the sky on a high rocky cliff—which will ever stand as a silent but eloquent memorial of the first American rites of the national church of that people who were destined to be the masters of this great continent.

To me it seemed of supreme importance to rescue from oblivion the sacred place where our fathers first worshiped God on the Atlantic coast, where they made the first English homes in the New World, and where was the cradle of our civilization. It is on North Carolina soil, and will you not uphold my hands in the good work? A small sum will secure possession of the precious site, and we can hand it down as a priceless heirloom to our children.

Let us read together the pathetic old story of romantic adventure, of manly fortitude, of disaster and death, prefacing it with the striking prediction of one of the early navigators:

“It seemeth probable that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reserved to be reduced unto Christian civility by the *English* nation.”

This prophecy was made when Spain still claimed our whole coast under the decree of the Borgia Pope, when France had established herself in the North, and England had as yet no foothold on the continent. It is the utterance of one who describes himself as “Mr. Edward Haies, gentleman, and principal actour in the voyage attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, knight, and who alone continued unto the end, and by God’s speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.”

Hayes’ picturesque narrative of Gilbert’s ill-starred voyage forms one of the earliest pages in the history of English colonization.

Till the close of the fifteenth century Italy was the most advanced and enlightened of the States of Europe, the chief

seat of the arts and sciences; and as mistress of the Mediterranean it was natural that she should give birth to the first great navigators and explorers. Her sons had penetrated the unknown regions of Asia and Africa; they led the way to all the great discoveries, and Marco Polo, John Cabot, Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci are only the most illustrious among many adventurers. But when a new world had been found, when the Atlantic superseded the Mediterranean as the great sea of commerce, then the work of the Italian students and scientists is done, and it is the Spaniard and the Englishman who reap the fruit of the discoveries.

Strange freak of fortune that the genius and enterprise of her sons were to deprive Italy of her maritime supremacy; that Venice and Genoa, the queen-cities of mediæval commerce, should be disrowned by the immortal exploits of their own children!

The coast of North Carolina is a long, narrow chain of sand-hills, locally called the Banks, separating the ocean from the broad, shallow bodies of water, Pamlico and Albemarle sounds, which are the estuaries of the Neuse and Roanoke and other great rivers of the state. At irregular intervals the line of the Banks is broken by narrow and ever-shifting inlets, through which flow the ocean tides, turning the inner waters into vast salt lakes, very rich in all varieties of sea products.

Within this breastwork of barren downs are few islands; but there is one of supreme importance in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race in America. Roanoke island, about twenty miles long by three in width, lies between Roanoke and Croatan sounds, the shallow waters which connect Pamlico and Albemarle, and is two miles from the Banks, and thrice that distance from the mainland. Here was established the first English colony; here was born the first

white American; here was celebrated the first Christian rite within the limits of the Thirteen Colonies. It is the starting point of events as pregnant with great results in the wonderful history of our race, as was the landing of our forefathers on the shores of Kent, when they migrated from their Holstein homes more than a thousand years before.

Yet, interesting and important as is the spot, how little is known of it by the great majority of Americans, or of this first endeavor to plant the sturdy English stock in the soil of the new world! We are familiar with the bloody atrocities amid which St. Augustine was founded; we are versed in the story of John Smith's adventures at Jamestown, and of the arrival of the Mayflower at Plymouth; but this early attempt at English colonization, with all its romantic incidents, has been allowed to sink almost into oblivion. It is not from lack of historical materials, for they are very abundant. While of the explorations of the Cabots we have no account from any one who took part in their voyages, the story of Roanoke has been fully told by Barlowe, Lane, Hariot, and White, leaders in the several expeditions. These precious documents, together with water-colored illustrations of the new country, have all been preserved, and no tale of adventure is fuller of picturesque incident and romantic interest.

The colony bears the name of one of the most remarkable men in a very remarkable age—Raleigh, the cavalier, statesmen, philosopher, historian, poet, mariner, explorer, hero, martyr—

“The courtier's, scholar's, soldier's eye, tongue, sword.”

No character in legend or history is more brilliant or versatile. The period too, is the most interesting period in the life of the English people. “The spacious time of great Elizabeth,” crowded with great deeds, and filled with “those melodious bursts that echo still.” There were intellectual giants in those grand days, and through all

classes of the people ran an enthusiasm of adventure and decay, just as the spirit of the Crusades had at one time thrilled through all Europe. Bacon and Shakespeare were budding into manhood; Sidney had written the *Arcadia* and *Defense of Poesie*, and was about to find his apotheosis on the field of Zutphen; while Spencer was dreaming of the land of Faery, among "the green alders by the Mulla's shore." Frobisher had made his Arctic explorations, and Drake had returned to amaze all England with his story of the circumnavigation of the globe.

The saving cruelties of Alva, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had kindled religious animosity into a fierce flame. The Prince of Orange was about to fall under the assassin's knife, and plots were thickening about the fair head of Mary Stuart, which were to bring her to the scaffold. The Renaissance and the Reformation had broken the shackles of the intellect, and widened the horizon of thought; while the great discoveries had opened new fields for the display of human energy. Men were giving up speculations about the heavenly world, which had absorbed the intellectual activities of the middle ages, and were turning to the practical conquest of a world beyond the seas. England and Protestantism were gathering their forces for the last great struggle with Spain and the Latin church, for supremacy in the old world, and for mastery in the new.

The English claim to North America, from Newfoundland to Florida, was based upon the discoveries of John and Sebastian Cabot, made under the authority of a patent granted to them by Henry VII, in March, 1496, the oldest American State paper of England. It empowered them to look for and discover new lands "of infidels and pagans whatever, and wherever situated, which before that time had been unknown to all Christians." Strachey, writing of Virginia in 1618, says: "The King of Spaine hath no collour of title to this place. King Henry VII gave his

letters pattents unto John Cabot, a Venetian indenized his subject, and to his three sonnes, who discovered for the King the North part of America, and annexed to the crowne of England all that great tract of land stretching from the Cape of Florida unto those parts, mayne and islands, which we call the New-found-land.’’

John Cabot had come from Italy to England about 1468, and settled in a suburb of Bristol, then, as now, called Cathay, from its trade with the East Indies, and here his son Sebastian was born. After the Norse Vikings no European until the Cabots had set foot on this continent. Sailing in an English ship manned chiefly with English seamen, they reached the American coast at Prima-Vista, First-seen-land, now Cape Breton, on 24th June, 1497, before either Columbus or Amerigo Vespucci had discovered the mainland. They planted a cross upon the shore, and the meteor flag of England is the first that was unfurled on the continent. Coasting for many leagues along what came to be called La Tierra de las Baccalaos, or Cod-fish-land, later Labrador, which they thought to be the territory of the Grand Khan in Asia, they returned to England at the end of summer, and Henry, swayed possibly by his unkingly passion of avarice, gave *ten pounds* to the adventurers who presented him with a new world!

Cabot is one of the great historic names over which the caprice of Fate has striven to draw the curtain of oblivion. While the name of Columbus is rightly found everywhere in America, and that of Vespucci—who first crossed the Atlantic when Sebastian Cabot was making his third voyage from England—has been given to the whole Western hemisphere, no river or mountain, bay or promontory bears the name of Cabot. Yet a recent writer, Brownson, on contrasting the results to the world of the English and Spanish explorations, says: “Columbus and Cabot looked for a land of gold and spices. Columbus found the lands rich in precious metals, and the result there have been four

centuries of cruelty, slavery, and oppression, of despotism and anarchy. Cabot found a land whose only wealth was in the codfish that swarmed on its coasts; but that land became the cradle of liberty and justice, of resistance to tyranny and oppression, the refuge of the down-trodden and enslaved of every clime. The world, humanity, is better, nobler, happier, for the discovery made by Cabot; has any real benefit to mankind resulted from the lands south of us?"

The fame of the elder Cabot—whom we Anglo-Americans should learn to reverence—has been obscured by the greater glory of his son. English born and bred, Sebastian Cabot, on the death of his father, became the leader of the expedition of 1498, which was a scheme of colonization. By way of Iceland he reached the shores of Labrador, and coasted as far South as Cape Charles or Hatteras, whence from want of provisions he returned to Europe. In 1516 he discovered Hudson's Bay for England, but through the greater part of the troublous reign of Henry VIII, he was in the service of Spain, and explored for her the great Rio de la Plata in South America. Returning to England he was pensioned and honoured by Edward VI. Now an old man, his restless activity was unabated, and the English voyages in the middle of the sixteenth century were due to Cabot's initiative.

In his fatal expedition to the Arctic seas in 1553, Sir Hugh Willoughby took with him Cabot's instructions for the voyage, which are most interesting as showing alike his wisdom and skill in seamanship, and his deeply religious character. In them the mariner's log-book is first instituted, and minute directions are given with regard to every detail of the art of navigation. The morning and evening prayer of the Church of England are ordered to be read on every ship daily, and the sailors are enjoined always to act "for dutie and conscience sake towards God, under whose mercifull hand navigants above all other creatures naturally bee most nigh and nicine."

Sebastian Cabot died probably in 1557—that lurid epoch when the Protestant martyrs were perishing at the stake—but his place of death and his grave are unknown. England (as Tardneci says) “had no time to remember or mark the sepulchre of the man to whose (powerful) initiative she owes the wealth and power which have placed her among the foremost nations of the world.” “Her claims in the New World have uniformly rested on his discoveries. The English language might be spoken in no part of America but for Sebastian Cabot. The commerce of England and her Navy have been deeply his debtors. Yet his birth-place has been denied and his fame has been obscured. He gave a continent to England; yet no one can point to the few feet of earth she has allowed him in return.”

I have dwelt at some length on these earliest efforts at English colonization, because they are so generally overlooked and neglected, and because the story of them enforces any point of the exclusively English origin of our civilization.

After Cabot's discovery of the North American Continent, and his taking possession of it for the crown of England, no important expeditions were undertaken for more than half a century. In the reign of Henry VIII all the energies of the nation were absorbed in the great problems of Church and State then pressing for solution, nor could the king attempt any conquests in the New World without a rupture with his ally, the Spanish monarch. On the accession of his son, Edward VI, the spirit of maritime adventure revived, but he was on his death-bed when the expedition of Willoughby set sail, and no such enterprise was practicable in the reign of Mary, the slave of Spain and of Rome. But with Elizabeth on the throne, and the Reformation triumphant, all great designs seemed possible.

The earliest attempt at colonization in his reign was made in 1578, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and to the initiative of these two men the Anglicizing of this continent is due. The

settlement of Jamestown and the establishment of the Puritans at Plymouth were only the last successful steps in a long series of great adventures. New England was founded by pursuing the path marked out by Gilbert, and Virginia by following that of Raleigh; the enterprises of these two great men—*par nobile fratrum*—are the true beginnings of Anglo-American history. Raleigh was already conspicuous as a *preux chevalier* and champion of Protestantism. He had set before himself as the one great aim in life the humiliation of Spain, and the weakening of the power of the Latin race and religion. At the early age of seventeen he left the University of Oxford to join a band of a hundred volunteers, who went to the aid of Coligny and the Huguenots—"a gallant company, nobly mounted and accoutred, and bearing for a motto on their standard, 'Let valor decide the contest.' " France was then aflame with the reports of the massacre of the Huguenots in Florida, and the idea germinated in Raleigh's mind that a moral blow might be dealt to the enemy beyond the seas. From the service of Coligny he passed to that of William the Silent, and all the while was growing in him the conviction (which he expressed later in life,) that the possession of America would decide the question of the supremacy of Spain or England. "For whatsoever Prince shall possess it," wrote he, "shall bee greatest, and if the king of Spayne enjoy it, he will become irresistible. I trust in God that he which is Lorde of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Lady of Ladies to possess it." *Paper on Guinea*, 1595.

Raleigh took command of one of the small vessels of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's fleet, with which they hoped to reach our shores, and by establishing a colony check the progress of the Spaniards, and "put a byt into their ancient enemy's mouth." The attempt was a failure; and on the second expedition, in 1583, Raleigh, who had fitted out one of the five ships, was forbidden by the queen to

accompany his brother. Gilbert took formal possession of Newfoundland, but he lost his ship off Sable island; and on the return voyage the gallant soldier went down off the Azores, with the Squirrel, his little craft of ten tons, his last noble words being, "Courage, my friends! We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land."

To Raleigh then came the scheme of colonization almost as an inheritance; and on Lady-Day, March 25, 1584, Queen Elizabeth issued to him a patent of discovery, granting him "all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and pre-eminences, (there-to or thereabouts, both by sea and by land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate.")

He equipped two vessels under command of Amadas and Barlowe, and from the pen of the latter we have an account of the expedition: "The 27 day of Aprill, in the yere of our redemption 1584, we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals. . . The tenth of June we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indes. . . The second of July, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet and so strong a smel, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abound-ing with odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant."

This characteristic of what Lane afterward called the "Paradise of the world" may have been in Milton's mind when he described the approach of the Evil Spirit to the garden of Eden:

"Now purer air
Meets his approach; . . . now gentle gales
Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, north-east winds blow
Sabeian odours from the spicy shore

Of Araby the blest; with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.”*

“Keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of July [America’s fated day!] we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent, and we sayled along the same 120 miles before we could find any entrance, or river issueing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered, and cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the haven’s mouth: and after thanks given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoyning, and to take possession of the same, in right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie.”

The explorers had coasted northward two days along the Banks, and entering probably at New inlet or Trinity harbour, had anchored not far from Roanoke island. “We viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the water side, but so full of grapes. as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them, of which we found such plentie, both on the sand and on the green soil on the hills, as well as on the hills, as well on every shrubbe, as also climbing towards the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found.” This is evidently the luxuriant North Carolina Scuppernong grape, whose strong aromatic perfume might well be perceived at some distance from the shore. . . . “There came unto us divers boats, and in one or them the king’s brother, with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any in Europe. . . . The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholesome of all the worlde: (there were above fourteene severall sweete-smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are Bayes and such like.) . . . Wee came

*Paradise Lost, IV, 153-165.

to an Island which they call Roanoke, distant from the harbour by which we entered seven leagues: and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharp trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a Turne pike very artificially. . . . The wife of the king's brother came running out to meete us very cheerefully and friendly. When we come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dried them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, shée herselfe making greate haste to dress some meate for us to eate. . . . We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as much bountie as they could possibly devise, We found the people most gentle, loving and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age."

It is important to mark this tribute to the character of the Hatteras Indians, and bearing in mind after instances of their kindliness and fidelity, we are forced to admit that their final attitude of hostility was entirely due to harsh and cruel treatment of them by the Colonists. It was a stern and ruthless age; the followers of the blessed Gospel of peace and love went ever armed with fire and sword, and admitted no right of any savage or pagan opponent to property, liberty or life.

These first explorers remained in our waters only two months, reaching England again "about the middle of September," bringing with them two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo. Their arrival excited the greatest interest. Raleigh named the new country Virginia in honor of the queen, and our whole Atlantic coast was now regarded as under the dominion of France, England, and Spain; the three districts of indefinite boundaries being known as Canada, Virginia, and Florida.

This voyage of Amadas was merely one of exploration ; but in 1585 Raleigh fitted out a second expedition of seven sail and one hundred and eight men, under command of his cousin Sir Richard Grenville, to plant a colony in the paradise described by Barlowe. Grenville is another of the brilliant heroes of this period, and it is interesting to note the number of remarkable men who were connected with the American voyages. Gilbert, Raleigh, Grenville, Lane, Hariot, White, form as striking a group of adventurous spirits as can be gathered together in history.

Full accounts of the experiences of the colonists are given by Lane. "The 9 day of April 1585 we departed from Plymouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seven sailes, (to wit the Tyger, of the burden of seven score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes, the Elizabeth, of fifty tunnes, and the Dorothie, a small barke: wherunto were also adjoynd for speedy services, two small pin-nesses. . . . The 12. day of May wee came to an anker off the island of St. John de Porto Rico. . . . The 24. day we set saile from St. Johns, being many of us stung upon shoare with the Muskitos. . . . The 20 of June we fell in with the maine of Florida. The 23. we were in great danger of wracke on a beach called the Cape of Feare, [the Promontorium tremendum of the old maps.] The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon [Ocracoke]. July 3 we sent word of our arriving at Wocokon to Wingina [the Indian chief] at Roanoak. The 16. one of the savages having stolen from us a silver cup, we burnt and spoyled their corne and towne, all the people being fled. . . . The 27. our Fleete ankered at Haterask, and there we rested. The 25. August our Generall weyed anker, and set saile for England."

Grenville thus remained two months on the Carolina coast, and then putting the colony under the government of Ralph Lane, returned home to join the other "Sea-

dogs'' who were now making the whole Atlantic unsafe for Spain. His death in 1591 off the Azores, where also Gilbert had perished, is one of the most glorious events in British naval annals. The English squadron consisted of but seven sail; the Spanish fleet numbered fifty-five. Engaged all night at close quarters with many of the largest Spanish galleons, at daylight Grenville found his little ship, the *Revenge*, literally shot to pieces, and not a man on board unhurt. Desperately wounded, he still refused to strike his flag; and when forced by his crew to surrender the sinking hull, he was taken on board the Spanish Admiral to utter the memorable last words: "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour."

On September 3, 1585, Governor Lane wrote to Richard Hakluyt from "the New Fort in Virginia," which he had built at the northern end of Roanoke island, on the site of the fortified Indian village found there by Amadas: "Since Sir Richard Grenville's departure, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest soyle under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, and grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde. . . . And we have found here Maiz or Guinie wheat, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400 upon one eare. . . . It is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and unknown greatnesse, and the climate is wholesome. . . . If Virginia had but horses and kine, I dare assure myselfe, being inhabited with English, *no realme in Christendome were comparable to it.*"

He describes the whole neighboring country, and determines to change the site of the colony to a better port, for "the harborough of Roanoak was very naught;" but the hostility of some of the Indian tribes rendered all his efforts futile. Conspiracies were formed against the English, and their situation grew so precarious, that many

turned a longing eye homeward. On June 10, 1586, Sir Francis Drake anchored off the coast with a fleet of twenty-three sail, and furnished Lane with a "very proper barke of seventy tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboard her for 100 men for four moneths." But on the 13th there arose a great storm which drove her to sea, with many of the chief colonists on board, and she did not return. Despairing of any remedy for this disaster, and unable to pass another winter without succor from home, Lane determined to abandon the colony. The men were bestowed among Drake's fleet, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 27th of July.

"Immediately after the departing of our English colony out of this paradise of the world," writes Lane, "the ship sent at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh, fraughted with all maner of things in most plentiful maner, arrived at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony up in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd provision into England. About foureteene days after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grenville Generall of Virginia arrived there; who not hearing any newes of the Colony, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to loose the possession of the countrey, determined to leave some men behinde to reteine it: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all maner of provisions for two yeeres."

Besides Lane's narrative of his explorations in the waters of North Carolina, of his relations with the Indians, and of the various adventures and vicissitudes of the first colony, we have a "Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia" by Thomas Hariot, "a man no lesse for his honesty than learning commendable," the scholar of the expedition, and the inventor of the algebraic system of notation, described in his epitaph as:

Doctissimus ille Harriotus,
Qui omnes scientias coluit,
Qui in omnibus excelluit.
Mathematicis, philosophicis, theologicis,
Veritatis indagator studiosissimus.

His report, addressed to “the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia,” is a very full and interesting account of the varied products of the new country, and of the manners and customs of the natives. “There is a kind of grasse in the country, upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silks. . . . There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld, the one small and sowre, of the ordinary bignesse, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweet [the Scuppernong]. . . . A kinde of graine called by the inhabitants Pagatowr [Indian corn], about the bignesse of English peaze; but of divers colours; white, red, yellow and blew. All yeeld a very white and sweete flowre. . . . There is an herbe called by the inhabitants Uppowoe; the Spanyards call it Tabacco. The leaves thereof being brought into poulder, they used to take the smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and heade; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours: whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithall we in England are afflicted. They thinke their gods are marvelously delighted therewith: whereupon they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the poulder therein for sacrifice: being in a storm, to pacifie their gods, they cast some into the waters: also after an escape from danger, they cast some into the aire. . . . We our selves used to sucke it after their maner, and have found many wonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: the use of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling, is sufficient witnessse. . . . Openauk are a kinde of roots of round forme [the potato] found in moist and marish grounds:

being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. . . . The naturall inhabitants are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnnes, and aprons of the same round about their middle, all els naked. . . . For mankind they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought forth children; and in such sort they had their beginning. . . . Some of the people could not tell whether to thinke us gods or men, the rather because there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women among us. Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitye. Some would likewise prophecie that there were more of our generation *yet to come to kill theirs and take their places.*”

In no wise discouraged by the failure of this costly experiment at colonization, Raleigh fitted out another expedition of three vessels in the following year, under command of John White, to whom we are indebted for the story of this second colony. For the first time the enterprise had an element of permanence, by including among the emigrants women and children. The intention was to make a settlement on the shores of the Chesapeake, but through the treachery of a pilot, as is said, Roanoke island again became the home of the colonists.

“In the yeere of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh intending to persevere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fifty men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom hee appointed Governour, and also appointed unto him twelve Assistants, unto whom he gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia. Our Fleete being in number three saile, the Admirall a shippe of one hun-

dred and twenty Tunnes, a Flie-boat, and a Pinnosse, departed the 26 of April from Portsmouth. . . . About the 16 of July we fel with the maine of Virginia, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene carefull, we had bene all castaway upon the breach, called the Cape of Feare. The 22 of July wee arrived at Hatorask: the Governour went aboard the pinnesse, with fortie of his best men, intending to passe up to Roanok foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene men, which Sir Richard Grenville had left there the yeere before. . . . The same night at sunne-set he went aland, and the next day walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry dwellings, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find some signes of our fifteene men. We found the forte rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrown with Melons, and Deere within them feeding: so wee returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteene men living. The same day order was given for the repaying of those houses, and also to make other new Cottages.”

The settlers, numbering ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine children, set to work to rebuild the fort, and to make for themselves an English home. Soon after their arrival occurred two incidents of extreme importance in the life of the colony.

“The 13 of August our Savage Manteo was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull service. The 18, Elenor, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sondag following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia.”

The baptism of Manteo and of the first Anglo-American

child are the beginnings of the life of the English church in the new world. The name Dare has been given to a county of North Carolina on Pamlico sound, and its county-seat is the village of Manteo on Roanoke island; a happy and permanent association of these Indian and English names with the locality where they were first brought into interesting conjunction.

What became of Virginia Dare?—the first American girl—that pattern of sweet womanhood now recognized as a distinctive type, and one as fair and winsome as the Mirandas or Violas of poetry! Did she die in infancy, and does her dust, mingled with the soil of her birth-place, blossom there into flowers that blush unseen? Did her little feet join in the wandering of the settlers from Roanoke to Croatan? Did she grow to womanhood in their second home, and did her life end in tragedy amid the darkness which enshrouds the fate of the Colony? What a subject for imaginative speculation!—and I wonder that no Carolina writer has made her story the theme of a romance.

A pretty Indian legend is that for her grace and gentleness she was known among the Red Men as the “White Fawn,” and after death her spirit assumed that form—an elfin Fawn, which, clad in immortal beauty, would at times be seen haunting, like a tender memory, the place of her birth, or gazing wistfully over the sea, as with pathetic yearning for the distant mother-land.

Shall not the name of Virginia Dare, the White Fawn of Carolina, grow more dear, more familiar to us all? The women of our dear old State will see to it, I am sure, that the memory of this first Carolina girl, and of Eleanor Dare, the first Carolina mother, be tenderly cherished and honoured.

“The 22 of August the whole company came to the Governour, and with one voice requested him to return himselfe into England, for the obtaining of supplies and other

necessaries for them; but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes why he would not. . . . At the last, through their extreame intreating constrayned to return, he departed from Roanoak the 27 of August.” The next day he set sail, destined never again to see his daughter and grandchild, and after a terrible voyage reached the coast of Ireland on the 16th of October.

This is the last that is known of the lost colony, whose fate has given rise to so much interesting speculation, and whose blood it is thought may be traced to-day in the Croatan or Hatteras Indians of Robeson county, North Carolina. It was three years before succour came from the old world, for England in the meantime had needed every ship and every sailor in her life-and-death struggle with Spain and the invincible Armada. Efforts were made to reach the colony, but they were unsuccessful, and not until the summer of 1590 did Governor White again arrive off the North Carolina coast.

“The 20 of March the three shippes, the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the little John, put to sea from Plymouth. . . . The 23 of July we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands thereof. . . . The 15 of August we came to an anker at Hatorask, and saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Roanoke neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587. . . . The next morning our two boates went ashore, and we saw another great smoke; but when we came to it, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately. . . . The 17 of August our boates were prepared againe to goe up to Roanoak. . . . Toward the North ende of the Island we espied the light of a great fire thorow the woods: when we came right over against it, we sounded with a trumpet a Call, and afterwardes many familiar English tunes and Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answere; we therefore landed, and coming to the fire, we found the grasse and sundry rotten trees burning about the

place. . . . As we entered up the sandy banke, upon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carved these faire Romane letters, C R O: which letters we knew to signifie the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon betweene them and me, at my last departure from them, which was that they should not faile to write or carve on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated: and if they should be distressed, that then they should carve over the letters a Crosse —|— in this forme, but we found no such sign of distresse. . . . We found the houses taken downe, and the place strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fortlike, and one of the chief trees at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and five foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was graven CROATOAN, without any crosse or signe of distress.” . . . No further trace was found of the colonists, except buried chests which had been dug up and rifled by the Indians, “bookes torne from the covers, the frames of pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and armour almost eaten through with rust. . . . The season was so unfit, and weather so foule, that we were constrayned of force to forsake that coast, having not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and seven of our chiefest men. . . . The 24 of October we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth. . . . Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company, the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe and comfort them, according to his most holy will and their good desire, I take my leave.”

Thus ended in disaster all of Raleigh’s great schemes for planting the English race on our shores. They had cost him £40,000, and the result was apparent failure; yet his greatest glory is these attempts at colonization. The seed

was sown which was eventually to yield the richest harvest: the direct fruit of these efforts was the colony of Jamestown, and Raleigh is the real pioneer of American civilization. It was he, and not King James, who, as Shakspeare says, was destined to “make new* nations,” and to whom rightly belongs the proud title of *imperii Atlantici conditor*.

“It was through Raleigh’s failures that success at length became possible; and his name is better entitled than any other to rank as the founder of the Anglo-American nation.”—*Payne*.

The misfortunes of the Roanoke settlers postponed the peopling of our State for more than a generation, but the fame of its beauty, fertility and rich resources had gone forth to the old world. Hear with what quaint expressions of enthusiasm a London writer speaks of *Carolina* in 1650: “Nature regards this Ornament of the new world with a more indulgent eye than she hath cast upon many other countreys. . . . It is all of so delectable an aspect, that the melanchollyest eye cannot look upon it without contentment, nor content himself without admiration. . . . Nature has crowned the Virgin Brow of this unexampled Countrey with universal plenty. . . . Winter Snowes, Frosts, and other excesses, are here only remembered, never known: the furling Springs and wanton Rivers everywhere kissing the happy soyle into a perpetuall verdure. . . . This fertility-labouring Countrey, especially in its Southerne beauties, in its Roanoke excellencies, like to a Princesse, all composed of Beauty, suffers no addresse to be made unsatisfied. . . . Why, being capable to crown her browes with Garlands of Roses, hath she sate desolate amongst the Willowes of neglect? . . . But the incomparable Virgin hath raised her dejected head, and now, like the Eldest Daughter of Nature, ex-

*King Henry VIII, V. 4, 53.

presseth a priority in her Dowry. Her browes encircled with opulency, she may with as great justice as any Countrey the Sunne honours with his eye-beames, entitle herself to an affinity with Eden, to an absolute perfection above all but Paradise. . . . The incomparable Roanoke like a Queene of the Ocean, encircled with an hundred attendant Islands, and the most Majestick Carolana shall in such an ample and noble gratitude repay her Adventurers with an Interest far transcending the Principall.”—*Force Tracts, III, XI. E. Williams.*

For more than half a century the name of the first settlement, the so-called “City of Raleigh,” disappears from our annals; until in 1654 a company of explorers from Virginia reached Roanoke, and saw what they termed the “ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh’s fort.” The lapse of time has probably altered its appearance but little from what it then was, except for the changes wrought by a luxuriant vegetation. Its present condition is thus described in *Harper’s Magazine* for May, 1860: “The trench is clearly traceable in a square about forty yards each way. Midway of one side another trench, perhaps flanking the gateway, runs inward fifteen or twenty feet. On the right of the same face of the enclosures, the corner is apparently thrown out in the form of a small bastion. The ditch is generally two feet deep, though in many places scarcely perceptible. The whole site is overgrown with pine, live-oak, vines, and a variety of other plants. A flourishing tree, draped with vines, stands sentinel near the centre. A fragment or two of stone or brick may be discovered in the grass, and then all is told of the existing relics of the city of Raleigh.”

Surely, these interesting historic remains should be saved from further decay, and kept intact for all time to come. No spot in the country should be dearer or more sacred to us than that which was marked by the first foot-prints of the English race in America. In this year of the

great Exhibition at Chicago, and in these days of enthusiasm about Columbus and his explorations, it is especially important not to lose sight of the fact that he did not discover the continent of North America, and that the United States owe nothing to Spanish civilization. That influence was to mould the destiny of the peoples who gathered in the new world south of the Gulf of Mexico; but Cabot with his English explorers was the first to set foot on our Atlantic coast, and it is to English enterprise, English moral standards, English political ideas, and English civil and religious liberty, that we owe the manifold blessings we now enjoy, and to which we must gratefully ascribe the marvelous progress and prosperity of our beloved country.

And now we sons of Carolina, whose lot is cast beyond her borders, appeal to you at home for help in our patriotic undertaking. Perhaps those who are privileged to hang ever on the mother's breast do not so fully realize how dear she is as we who yearn for her from afar. But however this may be, our love for the dear old mother State is deep and tender; we are prond of her glory, jealous of her honor; eager to work for her, to plead for her; and ready I trust, if God will, to die for her.

Her record is illustrious, but the world does not know it,—her history is full of good deeds, great deeds, noble deeds, but it is largely unwritten. Shall this ever be so? Shall no stepping-stone mark her grand progress across the waters of time? Are no statues to rise in honor of our immortals,—no monuments to our heroic dead,—no memorials of great epochs in our history?

To put these questions is to answer them, and we can no longer remain unmindful of our worthy past. The times are full of hopeful signs: associations are forming for patriotic purposes; historical societies are springing up in our principal towns; a few men have found that they have no time to make money, and are spending happy laborious days in turning over old manuscripts and publishing

forgotten papers. Our Colonial Records have been printed, chiefly through the noble efforts of William Saunders. All honor to him who, though a cripple from wounds and a martyr to pain, bravely carried through his colossal work! Go to Greensborough, and see what the devotion of one man can accomplish. Six years ago Guilford battle-field,—the scene of the only pitched battle fought within our borders by regular armies during the Revolutionary war,—was an almost unknown wilderness. To-day, through the energies of David Schenck, it is a beautiful park adorned with noble monuments, and it has become a Mecca of patriotism for thousands of pilgrims. As the years roll on it will become more and more a centre of historic interest to our children's children, until Guilford will be as familiar a name as Bunker Hill, and its significance in the great struggle will be as fully recognized as that of Yorktown, to which it was the necessary prelude.

Thus should we cherish the memory of every important fact in our history. Let us devoutly study the Genesis of our beloved State, the development of our institutions, the formation of our special character,—for we Tar Heels, like the Hebrews of old, are a peculiar people,—we may even say in a limited sense God's chosen people. Let us remember how the English pioneers from the borders of the Chesapeake peopled the Albemarle district,—how the French Huguenots settled on Pamlico Sound and on the fertile lands between the Neuse and Trent,—the Swiss and the persecuted refugees from the Palatinate found a home at New Berne,—the Scotch Highlanders occupied the banks of the Cape Fear,—the sturdy Irish Protestants and the Germans filled the centre of the State, and the industrious Moravians the country between the Dan and Yadkin. From the mingling of these varied elements has grown a homogeneous people—simple, unpretentious, modest, unostentatious, hardy, patient under suffering, obedient to law divine and human—a nation of brave, honest men and

pure, tender women, unsurpassed in the world for their sterling qualities. As ready to resist tyranny as loyally submissive to rightful authority, their political acts have been marked by the highest wisdom, and if "there be any," says Bancroft, "who doubt man's capacity for self-government, let them study the history of North Carolina."

Over sixty years under the government of the Lords Proprietors, and nearly as long under the rule of royal Governors, our fathers showed from the outset an earnest love of liberty and a determined spirit of independence. All oppression of the home government and every abuse of the royal prerogative were stoutly resisted, and when the day of inevitable conflict came, Mecklenburg pointed out to the sister Colonies the path to independence, and North Carolina soldiers shed their blood for the common safety from Stony Point on the Hudson to our extreme Southern border in Georgia. The cause which their valour had helped to win in the field was upheld by their wisdom in the council-chamber, and in nothing are our ancestors worthier of admiration than in the measures adopted for the formation of a State government and the conditions prescribed for the acceptance of the Federal Constitution.

Then followed two generations of happy, prosperous development, when again our country was desolated by a cruel civil war,—for the outbreak of which North Carolina was in no way responsible,—and yet how nobly she responded to every call of duty and honour!—till her best blood was reddening every battlefield, and our dear mother offered up more of the precious lives of her children than did any other State.

With what interest, what pride should we dwell upon all these things! But especially should we love and adorn the sacred spot which was the birthplace of American civilization. Let Roanoke Island become as familiar and as dear to us as is Plymouth Rock to the New Englander; make Fort Raleigh as widely known as Jamestown; let

there gather around Virginia Dare the romantic interest that attaches to the name of Pocahontas.

Let us men and women give to this, and to all such patriotic movements, our substantial aid and hearty sympathy; and let all the young be taught to know and feel what a proud privilege it is to be a child of Carolina.

EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES.

NOTE.—This article was prepared by Professor Daves for use as a lecture. As such it was delivered by him in a lecturing tour throughout North Carolina, in the winter of 1892-'93, in the interest of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association scheme.—EDITOR.

EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES.

One evening in the winter of 1891-'92, in the city of Baltimore, I went to Lehman's Hall to hear George William Curtis deliver an address before the national meeting of the Civil Service Reform Clubs. Among the prominent men on the platform I noticed a tall gentleman of middle age, with a grave and intelligent face, and of a soldierly bearing. This, I was told, was Professor Edward Graham Daves. I had known of him before this on account of his interest in North Carolina history. Both from what I had heard and what I then saw, I was very favorably impressed. A short time afterwards I met him. I found that my anticipation was realized. He was a man of charming manners, and of the purest ideals. He was an earnest, intelligent student of the past, an untiring worker, a patriotic American, and in the true old Southern sense, a gentleman. The previous facts of his life, as I afterwards learned, were as follows:

Professor Daves was a grandson of Major John Daves, of the Revolutionary army, a son of John Pugh Daves, and was born at New Berne, N. C., March 31, 1833. He began his studies at the New Berne Academy, and later prepared for college under private instruction on the plantation of

his kinsman, Josiah Collins, near Lake Scuppernong. Washington county, N. C. In 1850 he entered Harvard College, where Jared Sparks was president, and Longfellow and Pierce were professors. For fellow-students he had President Eliot Phillips Brooks, Bishop Perry, and Furness, the Shakespeare scholar. He at once became very popular, and was elected by his classmates to various positions of college prominence.

His tastes ran toward the classics, and under a native Greek he devoted his time especially to the language and literature of Greece. He graduated in 1854 with second honors, and at once entered the Harvard Law School. Two years later he settled himself to practice his profession in Baltimore. Just then came the offer of the Greek professorship in Trinity College, Connecticut. He loved Greek better than law, and the professorship was accepted. Here he staid till 1861, when he went to Europe. For ten years he remained abroad giving instruction to English youth on the shores of Lake Geneva, or traveling with his pupils. In 1870 he returned to Baltimore, where he occupied himself with private teaching and with lecturing on literary topics. In July, 1894, he died quite unexpectedly in a Boston hospital, to which he had gone a short time earlier for a surgical operation.

In the last year of his life, Professor Daves was much interested in two historical memorials. June 8, 1891, he offered a resolution in a meeting of the Maryland Historical Society, which led that society to erect a monument at Guilford Court House in memory of the Maryland line, who fought so effectively with General Greene at that place. He was appointed chairman of the committee to carry the matter through, and when the society came to select an orator who was formally to present the monument, the choice fell on him. The subject of his address was "Maryland and North Carolina in the Campaign of 1780-'81." It was pronounced an admirable address, and

in an extended form was published by the Maryland society. It is a valuable contribution to our Revolutionary history.

The other scheme to which he addressed himself was the recovery and preservation of the site of the fort which Raleigh's colony planted on Roanoke Island. Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, in 1887, made a journey through the waters of Eastern North Carolina, visiting on the way the site of this fort. He mentioned to friends the necessity of preserving this relic of the first English colony in the borders of our country. It seems that Professor Daves from this point became interested in the scheme. His practical zeal became aroused. Through his efforts Dr. S. Weir Mitchell was interested, and readings were given by the two at Bar Harbor, Maine, in order to secure funds. Dr. Mitchell afterwards gave readings in Baltimore, Philadelphia and other cities, and Professor Daves, in the winter of 1892-'93, made a journey through North Carolina, lecturing and receiving subscriptions for the project. Enough money was raised to buy the tract of land containing the site of the fort and to leave a considerable balance. A company was organized, which was called the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association. The first meeting of the stockholders was held in Baltimore, at Professor Daves' house, in May, 1894. By unanimous choice, the faithful promoter of the scheme was made president. His active mind had already made many plans for promoting the welfare of the company, when all were thwarted by his untimely death. At the next meeting of the stockholders of the association it was decided to erect a memorial to Professor Daves, on the site of the old fort. The Guilford monument and the Roanoke association remain a lasting tribute to his patriotic zeal and his untiring devotion to history.

JOHN S. BASSETT.

FRANCIS LISTER HAWKS.

The old saying, that North Carolina is a good place to start from, is the key-note to the greatness of her people, as well as a term of reproach as accepted by them. All great men must seek the large centers of civilization in order to give to the world their message, but the great principles of their lives come from the land of their birth. A State is to be measured by the number of its good and great men, and not by material or physical predominance. Even intellectual gifts and culture cannot make a people great, but may become the instruments of their ruin. There are men in every period who shape the life and mould the thought of their time, and among these were some who made higher achievements in particular lines of work, "but in all the elements which form a positive character, in that kind of power which sways the minds of other men, and which moulds public opinion, few men of his age deserve to rank higher than Francis Lister Hawks."

Dr. Hawks was born in Newbern, North Carolina, June 10, 1798. He was the second son of Francis and Julia Hawks. His father was of English and his mother of Irish descent. His grandfather, John Hawks, came to America with Governor Tryon, so well known in the early history of our State. They were warm friends in the old country and came over together to try their fortunes in the new. He was the architect of Tryon palace in Newbern, where he submitted his accounts for building, to the governor's council, June 29, 1771. During the revolution, however, he sided with the Americans. The maternal grandfather of Dr. Hawks was Richard Stephens, who came from Ireland, and, no doubt, was one of the stern old Scotch-Irish blood. Dr. Hawks was one of nine children, three of whom became ministers, and one of these a bishop.

The mother of Dr. Hawks was a remarkable woman. What her husband lacked in positiveness and individuality of character she supplied, combining the character-

istics of her race with a reverence for religion and all that is best in life. The early training which she gave her son is all-important in estimating his life and character. Bishop Green, of Mississippi, who knew the family, says: "The father of Dr. Hawks was of amiable disposition, but not of a high order of intellect," so it is to the mother alone that the great character and intellectual qualities of Dr. Hawks is to be attributed.

He was graduated from Chapel Hill in 1815, at the age of seventeen, and at that early age he was remarkable for his graceful elocution, fluent composition and finely modulated voice, as displayed in the exercises of the College Literary Society. He was valedictorian, and thus the opportunity for pathos was given, for which he was afterward so distinguished.

Immediately after graduation he commenced the study of law under Judge William Gaston, of Newbern, and later he became a pupil at the law-school maintained by Judge Reeve and Judge Gould, at Lichfield, Conn. He spent six months there, together with thirty other young men, many of whom afterward became well known in political and judicial life. Among these he was noted for his frank, ingenious disposition, and for his devotion to study. Near Lichfield was a school for young ladies, managed by the Pierce sisters, which no doubt relieved any severity which might result from legal training. We know little of the discipline kept at this school, but it is not probable that a score of restless youths, preparing for a profession "in which audacity is a virtue," would long remain ignorant of its attractions. The fair pupils were, perhaps, better studied than any page of Coke or Blackstone, and the lessons some of the young men learned by heart were better remembered. Here Dr. Hawks formed the acquaintance of Miss Emily Kirby, who, by her father's failure in business, was forced to take up teaching, and as the South furnished the best opening for her chosen work,

she applied timidly and respectfully to young Hawks to secure for her a position somewhere in that section. He was so pleased with her letter that he sought a correspondence, which finally resulted in marriage.

He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one, and soon took high rank among the best lawyers of the State. Shortly after graduation he received his first communion and began to take an active part in religious affairs. This was a bold step for a young man at that time, as religion was at a low ebb, there being then only one male communicant besides himself in Newbern parish. A worldly career of great promise lay open to him, but he would not compromise his christian principles for the sake of worldly ambition. He became a candidate for the Legislature in 1821 from Newbern, where it was customary for a candidate to throw open his house for the entertainment of all who came, in which all kinds of vice and drunkenness were tolerated. Hawks would have none of this, and "with a moral heroism which knew no fear, he dared to respect his own conscience, and to abide the consequences." However, he was elected in his twenty-third year.

About this time he removed to Hillsboro, Orange county, and took his place among such men as Wiley P. Mangum, W. A. Graham and Chief Justice Nash. During these years his fame for eloquence was growing, and whenever it was announced, "That little man is speaking," the court-room was soon filled with eager listeners. While connected with the bar at Hillsboro he became reporter for the Supreme Court of the State, and while in this position he prepared the "Reports of Decisions in the Supreme Court of North Carolina." In his early youth Dr. Hawks had been inclined to the ministry, but influenced by the worldly and ambitious views of his father he had studied law. His heart, however, was not in the work, and one morning he came to Bishop Green, then pastor of Hillsboro, and said: "I have entered the court-house for the

last time.” The Bishop expressed his surprise and asked him what he meant. He replied: “I mean what I say; I am no longer a lawyer; I wish to become a clergyman.” He read for a few months under Bishop Green, and removed to Newbern, where he completed his studies and was ordained by Bishop Ravenscroft.

While on a visit to her old home, his wife died at New Haven, Conn., and was buried by Rev. Harry Croswell, by whom the marriage was performed. This domestic relation between the two men led to the election of Hawks to be Dr. Croswell’s assistant in April, 1829. His eloquence and sincerity soon won for him a high place among the people of New Haven. While there he married Mrs. Olivia Hunt, formerly Miss Trowbridge, of Danbury, Conn., who survived him, and was a loving tender support to him all through his eventful career. His stay in New Haven was short, and in August of the same year he removed to Philadelphia, where he became Bishop White’s assistant at St. James’ Church. In the autumn of 1830 he was elected Professor of Divinity in what is now Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., and early in 1831 he became rector of St. Stephen’s Church, New York. In December he resigned this position to accept the Rectorship of St. Thomas’ Church, New York City, where he spent the best years of his life.

His eloquence and power soon drew around him a large congregation, which he held all through the years of his pastorate. The early training he had as a lawyer made his sermons more or less argumentative. He sought always to convince the judgment before appealing to the feelings, and in his greatest bursts of eloquence he kept Hamlet’s advice; in the very torrent and tempest of passion he observed a temperance which gave his diction smoothness. It is said of him during this period—so wonderful was his voice and style of delivery—that had he taken Euclid’s Geometry into the pulpit, his audience would have listened

gladly to the demonstration of its bare problems. He was called upon to preach many charity sermons, and in one of these, for the support of a Dispensary, the following humorous touch is found: "It has been objected to many charities," said he, "that their beneficence is bestowed upon unworthy objects. This cannot, however, be alleged in the case of the institution whose claims I advocate; for the wretch is yet to be found who will wallow in the mire of dissipation for the express purpose of qualifying himself to become a recipient of your bounty, and enjoy the sublime privilege of taking physic without cost."

In the summer of 1836, he visited England for the purpose of securing copies of such documents as related to the early history of the Episcopal church in America. He was well received there, and brought back with him seventeen folio volumes of historical materials, accumulated from various sources, relating to the early history of the church in New York and in the other colonies.

A short time previous to this, in 1835, he began a long series of literary works by the publication of several juvenile volumes, consisting chiefly of conversations between a very learned and sympathetic old Uncle Philip and his enquiring and, oftentimes, perplexed nieces and nephews. He loved children and took great delight in teaching them.

Immediately upon his return to New York from England, Dr. Hawks began the work for which he had now such abundant materials, called "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States." The first volume was published in 1836, on the early church in Virginia, and in 1839 the second volume, on the early church in Maryland, appeared. These works, though well received by the church, were severely criticised, and Dr. Hawks was so disgusted with the attack, that he abandoned the whole scheme of Church History. In 1837 he founded the *New York Review*, to which he contributed

several strong articles. One especially is of interest to us, being a "Partial Estimate of Jefferson's Character," in which he attacks the principles and work of Mr. Jefferson. Another article was that on Aaron Burr.

While Rector of St. Thomas, he projected a plan for a training school, which was to be a model in educational lines. By his enthusiasm and earnestness he secured contributions to the scheme, and soon had a well organized school located at Flushing, Rhode Island, but a financial crisis came on and the school was broken up for lack of funds. In consequence of this failure, Dr. Hawks became involved in debt, and his character was attacked for being so careless in the use of the school funds. On account of this he resigned the Rectorship of St. Thomas' Church, and went to Holly Springs, Miss., where his daughter lived, with the view of retrieving his fortunes and paying off his indebtedness. He at once established a school there, and became Rector of the church. He remained there only a year, but during that time he was elected Bishop of Mississippi by the Philadelphia convention, before which he made his famous speech, proving his innocence of the charges against him. For various reasons he declined the appointment. From Holly Springs he went to New Orleans, where he was Rector of Christ's Church five years. While there he drew the plans for the organization of the University of Louisiana, and was elected its first president.

In 1849 we find him again in New York as Rector of Calvary Church, where he remained until 1861. On his return to the city of his adoption, his friends made up a purse of \$30,000, which relieved him of all indebtedness, and enabled him to pursue his life's work without pecuniary embarrassment.

Though Dr. Hawks made no pretensions to poetry, his occasional verses found a place in a collection of "The Poetry of North Carolina." They were all on simple

topics, and some of them are instinct with poetic beauty. In his lines, "To an Aged and Very Cheerful Christian Lady," the following beautiful verses occur :

"And yet thy cheerful spirit breathes
The freshness of its golden prime;
Age decks thy brow with silver wreaths,
But thy young heart still laughs at time.
"Life's sympathies with thee are bright,
The current of thy love still flows,
And silvery clouds of living light
Hang round thy sunset's golden close."

His lines to N. P. Willis, of Boston, are beautiful in thought and imagery :

"I know thee not,
And yet I feel as if I knew thee well;
The lofty breathings of thy tuneful lyre
Have floated round me; and its witching notes,
With all thy bright and bold imaginings,
Stealing and winding round my inmost soul,
Have touched with gentlest sweep its trembling chords,
And waked a thrill responsive to thy melody."

While connected with the New York Historical Society, Dr. Hawks did his greatest work for North Carolina. This society, instituted in 1804, was revived in 1836, chiefly through his influence, and for several years he continued to deliver lectures before its members. Among those interesting to us was "The Career of the Indian Maid and Matron, Pocahontas," followed by another on "Captain John Smith and the Settlement in Virginia." In a subsequent course he delivered a graphic lecture on "Sir Walter Raleigh," in which he gave a narrative of the great adventurer's fortunes and an analysis of his character, together with that of the leading statesmen of Elizabeth's court and of the queen herself. Dr. R. H. Battle says of this lecture: "I heard him deliver his lecture on 'Sir Walter Raleigh,' to the delight of a large commencement audience, though he took two and a half hours in its delivery. His voice was as deep as the low tones of an organ, and he

used it with wonderful effect, while his delivery was exceedingly graceful and impulsive." This lecture was afterward incorporated into the first volume of his history of North Carolina. At another time his subject was the Revolutionary History of North Carolina, in which he discussed his favorite theme, the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence." He was a firm believer in the declaration of May 19 and 20, 1775, and made some strong points in its favor. The style of this lecture is clear, smooth and attractive, showing throughout his patriotism and love for his native State.

Among his works, the most valuable to us is his history of North Carolina in two volumes. The first was issued at Fayetteville in 1857, and embraces the period between the first voyage to the colony in 1584 to the last in 1591. It consists of various original documents and letters concerning the early voyages to the colony, together with a kind of running commentary by the author on the characters and events of the stirring times of Elizabeth. He closes the first volume with the following expressive sentence: "And so after the toil and suffering of years, the expenditure of much precious treasure and the loss of still more precious life, the waves of Albemarle rolled, as of old, their ripples up the deserted island beach, and the only voice heard was that of the fitful winds, as they sighed through the forests of Roanoke, and broke upon the stillness of Nature's rough repose. The white man was there no longer." The second volume, embracing the period of proprietary government from 1663 to 1729, was published, also at Fayetteville, the following year. This consists of a series of chapters on such subjects as "The Law and Its Administration," "Agriculture and Manufactures," "Religion and Learning," "Manners and Customs," etc. Somewhat peculiar, it is true, but carrying out his idea that "the real history of a State is to be read in the gradual progress of its *people* in intelligence, industry, wealth

and civilization," and that "the public events that transpire are but the exponents of the condition of the inhabitants, in these and other particulars."

Dr. Hawks took great delight in the study of antiquities, and was a prominent member of the American Ethnological Society. He was especially interested in the earliest life of the American Aborigines, and in 1857 he delivered three lectures on the "Antiquities of the American Continent," at Hope Chapel, New York City. As the result of his studies in this department, he published a volume on "The Monuments of Egypt," and later, one on "Peruvian Antiquities."

In 1852 he was offered the Bishopric of Rhode Island, making the third time that the Episcopate was offered him, and, in 1859, he was invited to the Chair of History in the University of North Carolina. This he declined also.

An event now took place which placed Dr. Hawks in a position ill-suited to his nature. Always outspoken in his views, he felt that he could no longer hold a position among people whose sympathies were so different from his own, so he resigned and went to Baltimore, where there were many strong southern sympathizers. Approaching three score and ten, he gave up the best position he ever had, a position won by a life of honest exertion, in order to be true to his convictions. "He did not forget the land of his birth, the grave of his mother, the kindred and friends whose happy, peaceful homes were so soon to feel the fury and devastation which were poured out upon them." At the close of the war he was invited to New York, and preached there for a short time, but his health was failing. His last public act was the short address on laying the corner-stone of his new church in Twenty-fifth street, September 4, 1866. His great work was ended. After a short illness he gathered his robes about him and stepped out calmly and peacefully into the great unknown.

He was buried at Greenwich, Conn., where a tomb and monument were prepared for him.

Nature seems to have endowed Dr. Hawks with the elements of greatness, giving him a powerful intellect, a "physical constitution of great endurance, an eye steady, dark and penetrating, and a voice tuned to eloquence." His independence, moral courage and warm southern sensibility, made him a natural leader, and "had he pursued a political career, North Carolina might have sent to the Senate an orator to rank with Clay and Calhoun." He loved simplicity in all things, and in all his public life he was thoroughly simple and perfectly natural. He fulfilled his great mission as a preacher, and at the same time was a leader in all that pertained to the life and true progress of the age in which he lived. Wheeler says of him all that need be said of any North Carolinian: "He was true to North Carolina and proud of her glorious history."

SANDERS DENT.

A KU KLUX RAID, AND WHAT CAME OF IT.

It was the summer of 1870, a year memorable in the political and social history of North Carolina. Among the notable events of the year may be mentioned the culmination and decline of the Ku Klux organization, the grave blunders of Governor Holden in the matter of the Kirk war, and the election of a Democratic legislature.

The original incident, the germ of those now to be related, occurred in a section of the State from twenty to thirty miles southwest of Raleigh known as Buckhorn, a name borne by three adjacent townships in three adjacent counties, viz: Chatham, Wake and Harnett.

From Raleigh a great turnpike road leads southwest for fifteen miles to the village of Holly Springs; thence westward through Buckhorn in Wake into Buckhorn in Chatham to Avent's Ferry on the Cape Fear river, leaving Buck-

horn in Harnett to the South. This road is of great historic interest as being the scene of the last war movement of Gen. Sherman's Army. Along this road from Raleigh to Avent's Ferry Gen. Sherman threw out the left wing of his army for the purpose of reaching Charlotte ahead of Gen. Johnston's army, which was following in its retreat the line of the North Carolina Railroad. When the van of the army had reached Avent's Ferry, and a pontoon bridge was being thrown across the river, the whole moving mass of army corps along the entire length of the road came to a halt, went into camp, and remained two weeks as guests of this usually quiet section of the State. The devastation wrought was all that could be expected from a hostile army.

I hail from Buckhorn in Harnett. At the time above mentioned (the summer of 1870) I had returned home from Trinity College to spend the vacation at the close of my Freshman year. On Friday night, July 1st, about eleven o'clock, a squad of mounted men in rapid movement passed along the road to the northwest. In the faint moonlight the men seemed to be in disguise, and we suspected that some of the Ku Klux were on a raid. The next day the tidings swiftly spread that Wyatt Prince, a negro living just over the Chatham line, had been attacked by the Ku Klux and had been seriously if not mortally wounded by pistol shots. A more detailed account was that at about midnight a squad of disguised men had surrounded Prince's log cabin, had demanded entrance, and, having been denied, they were proceeding to batter down the door, when Prince leaped out through an unguarded window. His retreat was discovered in time for the attacking party to give him several farewell shots, three of which took effect, making serious wounds. No further pursuit being offered, Prince escaped to the spring branch, in the cool waters of which he bathed his wounds till morning.

THE ARREST.

Out from the negro circles the rumor spread that some of the attacking party had been recognized, and in this connection were mentioned the names of several young men of the aforesaid townships, among them the name of my brother, John D. Pegram. This gave us little or no concern, for the whole family knew that he spent the night at home, and that we could easily prove for him an *alibi*. But the incident was not to be closed up in mere rumor. Busy hands were at work, the outrage machine was in full operation, and the demon of prejudice was for a season unchained. We did not know what was going on at the time, but subsequent events revealed to us what had been done. One or more of Prince's friends had gone to Raleigh, and had made affidavit before the U. S. Commissioner, A. W. Shaffer, who issued warrants for the arrest of twelve men of the aforesaid Buckhorn townships. The execution of the warrants was intrusted to a Deputy Marshal Bosher, who called to his aid a squad of Federal soldiers. They came down upon us Saturday, June 9th, piloted by Joe Dennis, a young negro of unsavory reputation. Leaving Holly Springs early in the morning they reached Chalk Level, my father's home, in Harnett, about nine o'clock, where they apprehended brother John and myself. We found that they had already taken up John Stevens and David Stevens, of Wake county, and Dickson Stevens, a near neighbor, of Harnett county. Out upon the highway near home the posse paused for two or three hours, while the officer went to arrest Jas. H. Prince, whom he did not find at home. Passing thence to the northwest they arrested William Truelove, of Harnett, Norman Johnson and Buck Sloan, of Chatham. Marion Cross and George Sloan were in demand, but were not at home, both having gone to Haywood on business for the day.

Towards sunset we had reached the aforesaid Avent's

Ferry road, and had set our faces towards Raleigh. Reaching the residence of W. C. Norris, Esq., in Wake, our captors added his son, W. Carey Norris, to the number of prisoners. After dark we reached Collins' Cross Roads, where we paused an hour for refreshments; then continuing our journey till a late hour, we camped for the remainder of the night about twelve miles from Raleigh.

IN JAIL.

Sunday morning we decamped, reached Raleigh about eleven o'clock, passed through the city, and halted in the old fair grounds, which had been converted into a military post for resident Federal troops during those reconstruction times. Here we were kept under guard in the open porch of a long, low building for some hours during mid-day. The arrival of nine captured Ku Klux was a notable event. The tidings spread through the city, and vast crowds of negroes gathered about the enclosure of the barracks to see how we looked and to express their joy at the prospect of seeing speedy justice meted out to the "negro killers." About three o'clock we were placed under a strong guard, and, attended by the howling, hooting, jeering mob, composed seemingly of the entire black population of Raleigh, we were escorted to the court house. After a short pause here, in the vain effort to be allowed to remain under military guard, or to give security for our appearance, we were taken out of the court house by the west door, into the jail enclosure, into the jail, up the stairway to the second floor, and safely lodged in the room on the northwest corner. It was a foul den, occupied by a youthful jailbird, with his straw bed and blankets upon the floor. At last we were in jail—a solid fact and no fancy about it. The thick walls, the small grated windows, the strong iron door, ourselves on the inside, and the turnkey, armed with the proper implements of his office, on the outside—all this was evidence indisputable that we were in jail. Up

to this time we had regarded our arrest as a huge joke, and had deported ourselves much as a lot of young fellows out on a picnic. But this was carrying the joke a little too far, and the flood of emotion that was experienced by our little company was too great for utterance. We stood by the windows, or sat on the floor, and silence reigned for half an hour. Then one of our number recovered his equilibrium and wanted good humor, and said, "Boys this will never do; it's no use to sulk and pout; let's have a good time, even in jail." And we did. Soon friends arrived, and were admitted to see us; among them I recall my father, George W. Pegram and his faithful old friend and neighbor, A. H. Dewar; W. C. Norris, of Wake; and Maj. R. S. Tucker and Geo. T. Stronach, of Raleigh. Their presence gave us good cheer, and a box of provisions sent from our homes served for our refreshment. About night-fall we were transferred to an adjacent room, where with an abundance of blankets sent in from other parts of the jail we spent the night in refreshing sleep. In the morning our host supplied us with an elaborate breakfast, which, for each one, consisted of a piece of boiled beef and a large chunk of coarse corn bread, made from unsifted meal, with seemingly a due proportion of baser material commonly known as dirt. We politely received the tin platters with the above named contents, placed them on the floor, and with a twirl of the foot sent them gliding to the remotest corner of the room. From Cook's Hotel, with compliments of our friend, George T. Stronach, was sent to us an elegant breakfast for three or four men, which, with the remaining contents of our box, furnished us all an ample repast.

THE TRIAL.

At ten o'clock, Monday, July 11th, we were taken into the court house for trial before Commissioner A. W. Shaffer. F. H. Busbee, Esq., was counsel for the prosecution, and Ex-Gov. Bragg and R. H. Battle, Esq., were counsel

for the defense. The court room was crowded to its utmost capacity. The three men who were absent from home when called for on the previous Saturday were now on hand of their own accord and responded in the trial. The defense put in the plea of no jurisdiction, but the plea did not satisfy the court, and so the trial proceeded. The witnesses introduced by the prosecution were the wife of Prince and her mother, who was residing at the home of Prince at the time the raid was made upon him. The testimony of the mother was naught, so far as connecting any one of the prisoners with the crime. The wife testified that she recognized in the raiding party at least four of the men, Johnson, Truelove,, George Sloan and Buck Sloan; that she knew these men well and could identify them; that she knew Johnson very well, and would recognize him anywhere. On being asked to identify Johnson she pointed out myself. That there might be no mistake as to whom she intended to point out, I was asked to stand up. "Yes," said the woman, "that is Norman Johnson." I was then asked to state to the court my name. "My name is William H. Pegram," said I. The effect of the witness's mistake was like an electric shock; it broke the force of her evidence, relaxed the high tension to which all minds had been wrought, and brought the evidence on the part of the prosecution to an end. The defense offered no testimony, feeling that there was no evidence to rebut and that no case had been made out against us. The court soon rendered its decision. Eight of the prisoners were discharged, and four were bound over to court in a bond of \$2,000 each. The latter part of the decision was regarded as utterly unjust, and the bail as excessive. The bonds were promptly given, and we dispersed to our homes. The men appeared at the next Federal Court, but the case was not called; and upon inquiry it was found that no true bill against them was found by the grand jury. And thus the "Ku Klux Raid and What Came of It" came to a close.

THE NORTH CAROLINA MANUMISSION SOCIETY.

Perhaps it will be a matter of considerable surprise to many, in fact a majority of the citizens of the State, to know that the anti-slavery sentiment was ever strong enough here to take the form of organized protest and endeavor against the practice of slavery. And they would be still more surprised to know that this was the case in some of our most prominent counties. Nor was this simply the agitation of abolitionists just on the eve of the great war, but it was organized and carried on in the early part of this century. And it would be the occasion for still greater surprise to know that this organization ever reached so prominent a position as to receive such recognition from a similar general American Society, as to be asked to present their views to the general society at Washington. Yet such was the case.

The first record we have of this organization is the minutes of the several branches of the "Manumission Society" in Guilford and Randolph counties, which met at "Center Meeting House" July 19, 1816. This name it retained for two or three years; but there seems to have been some discontent with the limited sphere of work which was implied in the name, and after several unimportant changes the name was finally agreed upon and the society became known as the "Manumission and Colonization Society of North Carolina." And by this name it would have been known if the attempt, on the part of some of the members, to have the society incorporated had succeeded, but it was not seconded by a majority and so the project failed.

In the matter of organization, the aim of the society was to have, in the various townships, as many local branches as was possible. These were all entitled to send delegates to the General Society which met twice a year, alternating between Deep River and Center Meeting Houses. The local branches were usually called by the name of the "meeting house" at which their meetings were held, and

they seem to have been carried on in nearly all the most populous communities of the two counties. These branches were allowed representation based on membership, and their delegates were elected for certain terms just as the other officers of the Society.

Among those who were present at the first meeting in 1816, we may notice the familiar names of Swain, Mendenhall, Sherwood and Worth, along with many others. The election of permanent officers resulted in choosing Moses Swain for President, Thomas Sherwood for Clerk, and Hugh Sherwood for Treasurer.

Upon a call of the local branches, it was found that the aggregate membership of the General Society of 147. At the September meeting in 1817 the whole number of members was reported at 256. In April, 1819, the total membership was estimated at 281. From this date until 1822 there were regular meetings, but in that year there were two attempts to hold sessions, but were both failures. This marks the first flagging of the zeal of the Society.

In 1824 there began to be agitated the question of the advisability of longer continuing the organization, and also in that year a committee was appointed to meet a State Abolition Society and to try to effect a consolidation of the two societies; this design was never carried out.

In September, 1825, the whole number of members was placed at 497, and in addition to the regular branches, a female society, located in the vicinity of Jamestown, was reported, and the Society resolved to recognize it as an auxiliary. From this time on there were, at various meetings, addresses and papers presented by this auxiliary to the General Society, and scarcely a meeting passed without there being adopted some suitable resolution in commendation of the work being done by the female society, and it continually furnishes a subject for praise to the President in his semi-annual address.

In March, 1826, we see a name somewhat more noted than

the others when Wm. Swain was elected Secretary. There are no other occurrences of importance until 1828, when a committee on that subject recommended the division of the Society into two societies, and that there thus be formed Eastern and Western sections. Whether this was ever done, does not appear on the records. Nothing more worthy of note in the internal history of the Society is shown until 1834, when the question of longer continuing the Society again arose and, after a rather prolonged debate, it was decided that, as the Society had not yet accomplished all it started out to do, it would be wise to discontinue. Here the record ceases and we are left to suppose that the resolution was immediately carried into effect.

Such is a brief history of the Society, but not of its work, and there remains to be treated yet the various undertakings and how it went about carrying them out. Its plans and methods will give us not only an insight into the workings of the Society, but their success will throw great light upon the state of public sentiment on the question that was afterwards to become vital in the United States.

In the preamble to their constitution they ask whether they are acting in accord with the time-honored principles of liberty in holding slaves; and then declare their adherence to the Declaration of 1776, and that all men are entitled to freedom without reference to race or color, and the more enlightened men are, the greater disgrace in keeping our fellow-men in bondage. With such a declaration of principles as this they were positively committed to an aggressive campaign in the interest of freedom.

The Society was primarily and pre-eminently a *Mission* Society. Of course it was out of its power to do anything effective along this line further than the dissemination of literature on the subject, and in every way possible to strive to stir up the consciences of men. It did not attempt or profess to be a political organization, and

only once do we find it discussing the issue as a political one, and then it was on the question as to whether the voting for candidates for legislature who were not in favor of emancipation was an impeachable offence. We are not told how it was decided, the record only saying that the seventh article of by-laws was struck out, but as this article does not touch that part of the subject, it does not throw any light on the subject.

One of the most effective means of arousing public sentiment in favor of manumission, was of course, to be through printing, and so at the very first meeting there was appointed a committee to superintend all printing. At the second meeting this committee read a letter from Mr. Jo. Gales, the editor of the Raleigh Register, in which he declined to print an article they had sent him, on the grounds that the subject was one on which the people of the State were not then in a temper to bear discussion; also because it might produce consequences of a direful nature by falling into the hands of the slaves, many of whom, he says, can read. Notwithstanding his refusal, though he did not openly espouse their cause, yet he expressed the wish that an end could be put to the practice of slavery, but, according to his opinion, it must be brought about by gradual means.

This refusal led to a proposition to establish a printing press subject to their own control. This was never carried into effect, but later we find an order to print and distribute free "The Friend of Peace," copies of which had been sent them by the Ohio Peace Society. They also stepped outside their proscribed bounds and discussed the printing of a pamphlet on war, which may be accounted for, however, by the strong Quaker sentiment that was predominant in the Society. They also seem to have reached the conclusion of the editor of the Register, and we find them ordering the printing of an essay in the East Tennessee Patriot which should set forth the views of the Society, as

it was not seasonable to publish it in this State. It may be well to mention just here that there was a similar society in Tennessee, and that a special committee had been appointed to carry on a correspondence with it, and some very encouraging reports were received from that State. Besides numerous other articles which were ordered printed, a committee was appointed to draw up a paper setting forth the comparative value of free and slave labor. And at another time the branches are all advised to subscribe for Benj. Lundy's "The Genius of Universal Emancipation."

Another department of work which naturally suggested itself, from the name under which they worked for a while, would be the encouragement of colonization and the rendering of pecuniary aid to such enterprises; but this part of the work does not seem to have met with a very hearty response on the part of the members. Perhaps the impracticability of such a scheme readily presented itself to their extremely practical minds. At any rate, we find few references to this part of it. At different times the scheme is mentioned in the addresses of the President. At one time he recommends Hayti, and at another time French Guiana, for colonization purposes. Also at one meeting a motion was made and carried to send money to General Colonization Society. This seems to have been the extent of the aid and interest.

The Society also, at one of its earliest meetings, ordered the appointment of a commission to examine the laws of the different States and to make extracts of any parts relating to slavery.

At a later meeting the question of kidnaping was discussed, as was also the expediency of examining into certain cases of this kind which had been reported, and of trying to enforce the law against the practice. Later a standing committee was appointed to act in all cases of the kind that were reported to them, and they were instructed to inquire into certain cases of persons who were reported

to be held in bondage illegally; the Society agreeing to bear all expenses of the investigation.

The President, in his address in April, 1821, states that New Garden was making the experiment in the tuition of colored children in schools by themselves, and expressed the wish that it might be successful, and a committee on that matter reported favorably, recommending that the Society take steps to the same end. Along this same line was a resolution asking the slave-owners to teach their slaves how to take care of themselves. But afterwards a protest against the use of slave labor in the construction of the proposed railroad was indefinitely postponed, which virtually amounted to killing the proposition.

As another method of stirring up the public, it was suggested that a correspondence be entered into with the various religious organizations, and accordingly persons were appointed to write to the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Moravians, and seem to have met with very hearty sympathy and assurances. At a later date the Society drew up a petition for the Baptists, asking the legislature to grant negroes license to preach, with certain restrictions.

Correspondence had also been opened with various abolition societies, and with the Bible and peace societies. They also sent out an address to the various branches to which they were asked to secure signers, and to have it forwarded to Congress. At a subsequent meeting two hundred and sixty names were reported as secured and sent to Thomas Settle, who was the representative at Washington.

To show the temper of the Society and the ardor of some of its members, it will not be out of place to quote the following from the minutes:

“There were two essays introduced from Reedy Fork branch, one entitled ‘An apology for becoming a Manumission member,’ and the other comparing some among

christian professors with Mohometans as far as respects slavery, which were read, approved and directed to be signed by the President and Secretary on behalf of the Society, and that they be forwarded on to the editor of the *Emancipator* for publication.”

In August, 1830, it was reported and approved in open session, that there was nothing libellous in the article for which W. L. Garrison was indicted and convicted, and that he did not overstep the liberty of speech guaranteed to him by the Constitution, and the committee recommend that the Association enter its protest against the unconstitutional decision in Garrison’s case.

Toward the latter part of its existence, the meetings of the Society were conducted in somewhat the form of a debate on certain questions suggested by a committee for that purpose. These questions all relate in some way to the question of slavery; either the means of getting rid of it, or of arousing sentiment concerning it, or of a citizen’s duty concerning it. But as they were always with one accord on the same side, they must have partaken of the nature of harangues instead of debates.

CHAS. C. WEAVER.

JOHN S. CAIRNS, ORNITHOLOGIST.

North Carolina has produced many men of genius whose lives gave rich prospects of fame and usefulness, who doubtless would have brought honor and glory to the shrine of the “Old North State;” but when life has seemed most hopeful to them, when their work has begun, as it appeared, to cast upon them the halo of success, they have been snatched away from the merited renown of this world to the rest and greater glory of the Unknown. The lamented Fuller, with his thirty ideal years of a faithful life, and the invalid Gillespie, struggling against the evils of a life-devouring disease for the calling of his muse, are illustrations of this lamentable fact—this law of Fate.

It is not of one who showed talents for the work of the poet, the statesman, or the orator that I now write, but of one who had gifts which promised him a station of note in the scientific world.

John S. Cairns was born February 10, 1862, at Lawrence, Mass. He was of Scotch parentage. His father had left "the banks and braes" of "bonnie Scotland" for the new prosperity of America. Being an intelligent, well-read man, he and his faithful wife brought with them a large and valuable stock of Scotch ideas of work and industry.

Mr. Cairns, when his son was about eight years of age, moved to Western Carolina, taking charge of some woolen mills several miles from Asheville. Here, in the very heart of nature, among the mountains of our own Carolina, the subject of this sketch found his life work. He early showed much interest in natural history. So absorbed was he in this work, that he could not be prevailed upon to pay strict attention to school studies. Whenever the young lover of nature found an opportunity, he would steal away to observe the habits of the wild animals. Adam Moss might have been speaking for him when he said: "As one goes early to a concert hall with a passion even for the preliminary tuning of the musicians, so my ear sits alone in the vast amphitheatre of Nature and waits for the earliest warble of the blue-bird, which seems to start up somewhere behind the heavenly curtains."

At eighteen, he began his collections, the finest of North Carolina specimens. Henceforth his life is an illustration of a noble devotion to a high aim; what Philips Brooks might well call "Deep calling unto Deep;" that longing in the mind of man to reach out and lay hold upon the heart of Nature—to learn of her, to read her lessons, to solve her problems, to hear the music of her many voices which but forms a part of the great symphony of God. His work was all done under great difficulties. His family were opposed to his wanderings among the mountains in

search of specimens. Then it was hard for him to secure the best books to aid him in the first steps of his study. He was shamefully cheated in his first efforts at exchanges and classifications by men who cared less for the science and more for "the loaves and fishes." And not least of all, he was compelled to support himself while at work. Notwithstanding these difficulties, he obeyed his call with the characteristic zeal of the true scientist, and nature greatly rewarded him for his interest in her behalf.

His work was done entirely in Western North Carolina. Here is one of the vastest and richest fields for ornithological study in America. Every hill and dale has a separate family of birds; each woodland discloses new secrets to discourage the heart of the observer. Mr. Cairns went to work with an untiring zeal and vigilance. As the result of his labors, many thousand skins and eggs have been added to our zoological museums. To him, more than to any one else, is indebted our knowledge of the Western Carolina birds, a region differing very much in this, as in other respects, from Eastern Carolina. He discovered a rare species of the Acadian owl, before unknown to be native to our State. Many were the days and nights he spent among the rugged Black Mountains and other ranges in pursuit of his favorite work.

In every particular, Mr. Cairns obeyed the divine command, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." His early collections, he sold. His last collection numbers about one thousand skins and fifteen hundred eggs. Many of these have been separated from the main body; yet it is wonderful to stand and view the remains of his work at his home at Weaverville. So well did he obey the "God-given mandate, 'Work thou in well-doing,'" that the Smithsonian Institution, the New York Museum, Harvard, and the State Museum of North Carolina considered it a favor to receive his collections. Not only this, but he had correspondence with the leading ornithologists

of this country and made exchanges not only with his own countrymen, but also with those of foreign lands. He was a member of the American Ornithologists Union.

Unfortunately for science, he, to a certain extent, possessed the peculiarly reticent nature of his great fellow-scientist, Thoreau. Hence it is that very little of his work has appeared in print. His friends desired him to publish a book on North Carolina Ornithology, but he would not. He could not be prevailed upon to write for magazines, except at the special request of the editors. But as has been said of the recluse of Walden Pond, "He saw as with a microscope, heard as with an ear-trumpet, and his memory was a photographic register of all he saw and heard." Of his magazine articles, two are in the *Ornithologist and Oologist* on the Birds of Buncombe County, North Carolina. He also wrote a valuable article on the Black-Throated Blue-Warbler. He furnished many lists to C. Hart Merriam, Director of the Department of Ornithology, at Washington. From observation and personal study he made a classified list of the birds of Western North Carolina, a copy of which is now in the Trinity Historical Museum.

But the greatest and best thing that can be said of Mr. Cairns is that he was authentic. Many so-called scientists make reports of birds and animals they have not seen, but only read of or imagined they have seen. Mr. Cairns was a careful observer. He never made a statement unless he had a specimen to support his assertion—never entered into a discussion without convincing evidence that he was right. He was the indirect means of teaching the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia the proper identification of the wild turkey. So skilled was he that he could easily identify birds by their mode of flight.

Speaking of him and his work, Mr. William Brewster, of Cambridge, says: "Of all the correspondents whom I have had during an experience of more than twenty years,

Mr. Cairns has proved himself to be one of the most helpful and kind. His generosity has been simply boundless. He has done far more than any other one man to advance our knowledge of the birds of Western North Carolina, and his loss to ornithologists is a heavy one."

Like our own Dr. Mitchell, his life was not only spent in the service of science, but it was lost in it. In June, 1895, while searching for some rare specimens among the Black Mountains, he became separated from his party. When he did not return, a search was made. After many hours of weary toil and anxious expectation, he was found lying by the trunk of a large tree, his head pillowed upon a bed of moss, and life extinct. While knocking the fungus from a log with his gun, it was discharged, killing him instantly. The place where he died is but a few miles from where the lifeless body of Dr. Mitchell was found. His remains were brought back to his home and buried with Masonic honors in the village cemetery, where the birds sing their requiem above the still heart that loved them so well.

The Auk, the organ of the American Ornithologists Union, in commenting upon the death of Mr. Cairns, says: "His untimely and sad death is a distinct loss to ornithology. Fortunately, some of his notes, so generously sent to ornithologists with whom he was in correspondence, may yet see the light." Had his life been prolonged he would doubtless have given us a valuable and useful scientific work.

"But Nature never did betray the heart that loved her." Cairns and Mitchell, in their zeal to serve her, lost their lives. And we can but trust that "beyond the Orient meadows of Eternity" they rest upon the slopes of Mount Zion, "which abideth forever," and the secrets they longed to fathom here are revealed to them there, and they know "as we are known."

To bear witness of Mr. Cairns' noble labors in behalf of

the cause he loved so well, there remains a large collection of specimens. This is beyond a doubt the finest of North Carolina bird museums. Many organizations have already attempted to secure it. But let us as North Carolinians guard this collection as one of the treasures of our State, nor allow it to go beyond our borders. We would rejoice to know that Trinity could make this valuable acquisition to her store of scientific possessions.

W. K. BOYD.

BOOK NOTICES.

Guide to the Study of American History. By Profs. Edward Chaunning and Albert Bushnells Hart, Harvard University. (Boston: Ginn & Co. 1896. Pp xvi. 471). Students in American history have long felt the need of some such book as this. The development of the method of research in studying American history and the accumulation of an immense number of books on this subject have made a guide for the student a matter of necessity. Such a work would relieve the teacher of much drudgery, as well as give the advanced student a single view of the literature that he must handle. It would also be of service to a large number of students who have not the opportunity of wide reading at college or university. This want has been met by Profs. Chaunning and Hart. Drawing from their experiences at Harvard they have given in convenient compass much valuable information in regard to teaching history, a comprehensive working bibliography, and a long list of topics in colonial and national history. The work can but be considered an advance step in the study of American history.

The United States of America, 1765-1865. By Prof. Edward Channing, Harvard University. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896. Pp. ix, 352). This small work is intended primarily for the English public and in that sense it ought to be a success. It takes a sane view of points that have caused perplexity and is free from the blindness of national vanity. The origin of the Revolution is treated with broadness and the outbreak of the civil war is fairly put. As an outline for college classes in which much parallel reading is done Prof. Channing's work ought also to be a success. It will, however, be found too much abridged for the general reader.

The True George Washington. By Paul Leicester Ford (Philadelphia: Lipincott. 1896. Pp. 319). Much of the heroic has undoubtedly encumbered the biographies of Washington. He has been deified and the reader has not always gotten what Mr. Ford would call a "true" picture—by which he seems really to mean a common-place picture. The worst part of this book is the title. One can applaud Mr. Ford for making this picture; for there are a large number of people who will be glad to know the minute facts of Washington's life, how he ate, how many teeth he had pulled, and the small talk about his private relations with women: but it will be hard to forgive that satisfied spirit which makes him consider his own the only "true" Washington. Apart from this there is much that is good in this book. It is based on a careful study of the Washington correspondence. The pictures of Washington's "Social Life," "Friends," "Enemies," "Tastes and Amusements," etc., are clear, easy, and but for a, perhaps unavoidable, lack of continuity they would be very interesting.

Historical Briefs. By James Schouler, with Biography. (New York: Dodd, Meade & Co. 1896. Pp. viii 310). The many readers of the works of this indefatigable writer and genial gentleman will be glad to see this volume. It contains his most considerable magazine articles of recent years, besides two essays "Historic Monographs" and "Historic Style" which are here

printed for the first time. To these has been added a Biography. The fugitive works of a man who has attained equal distinction in legal and historical literature ought to interest the general public. Here we have Mr. Schouler in his most intimate relation. His quiet and strong personality appears in every paragraph. First in the series of essays is that on Francis Parkman, a faithful picture of a faithful man and writer. It is, however, the biography of Mr. Schouler that will most interest historical students. His life has been a busy one. Perhaps it is from his Scotch ancestry that he gets his power of work. The family, it may be said, is not German, as it so often supposed, and the name is pronounced "Schooler" and not "Schuler." A consulting lawyer in Boston, the author of several standard books in legal subjects, law lecturer, historian in no mean sense, lecturer in history, and writer on questions of passing political interests—these are the sides of this man's life. In each line of thought he has made many friends. Perhaps none of his friends will more appreciate this timely volume than those younger men, now in many parts of the world, who have sat under his faithful instruction at Johns Hopkins University.

Life of Braxton Craven. By Prof. Jerome Dowd, Trinity College, (N. C.). (Raleigh, N. C.: Edwards & Broughton. 1896. Pp. 246). If the life of any North Carolinian ought to be written it is that of Dr. Craven. In the hearing of the writer no man has been so often pronounced our greatest native citizen as Dr. Craven. His struggles in boyhood, his mastery of opposition, his loving work for young men, his sacrifices for education, and his death for Trinity College, the child of his hopes—all these measure his strength. Prof. Dowd has brought to his work much patience, love, wisdom, and insight. He has made a faithful picture. Dr. Craven began life as a poor boy in Randolph county, N. C. He came from the section which sixty years earlier had been the home of the Regulators. It was a democratic region and had almost no slaves. Had the boy been born in a section dominated by the slave-holding class he would not have had an opportunity of self-development. As it was he was taken by Nathen Cox, a kind hearted farmer of Quaker tendencies, sent for a time to the neighborhood school, and at length given a full opportunity to start even with the other boys in the community. The life of Dr. Craven cannot fail to be interpreted as a protest against slavery.

The Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. By Philip A. Bruce, Corresponding Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 2 vols. 1896. Pp. xix. 634, vi. 647). Adequate space is not given here to review so pretentious a work as this. Ever since the appearance of Weeden's *Economic History of New England* historical students have desired that some one would conduct a similar investigation in the southern colonies. Mr. Bruce, enjoying excellent faculties in connection with his position as Corresponding Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, has undertaken this task for Virginia. He has succeeded in producing a valuable work of two solid volumes. It is to be regretted that he has found it necessary to confine his investigations to the seventeenth century.

It is to be hoped that the work may be continued beyond that limit and brought, according to the original purpose of the author, down to the civil war. Its scope may be indicated by the titles of some of the chapters: "Aboriginal Virginia, Its Physical Character;" "Indian Economy;" "Agricultural Development;" "System of Labor, the Servant—the Slave;" "Domestic Economy;" "Relative Value of Estates;" "Manufactured Supplies;" "Money" and "The Town." The style is not easy. Perhaps, it could not be made easy with such a mass of facts as is necessarily presented. The work is for students. It is a mine of information, not a machine of pleasure. It will stimulate research in Southern history and will afford writers of the history of other States than Virginia a basis of comparison that cannot fail to be of great benefit. Besides this, it is of much interest to North Carolinians; for until the eighteenth century North Carolina life differed in no important sense from that of Virginia.

The Beginning of a Nation, with Special Reference to the Life and Character of the People. By Edward Eggleston. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1896. Pp. xi, 377). Historical students have been expecting this work for some time. The reputation of the author as a writer of culture history makes its appearance a matter of interest. A number of articles on this phase of our history were published by Mr. Eggleston in the *Century Magazine* in 1892. From these he has drawn to some extent, yet the volume is substantially new. It comes fresh with the tone of the author's best manner, and holds one with the interest of Parkman's delightful style. It is clear, lively, and human. It has a rich background of life. He who reads it with the sense of an antiquarian may be disappointed; for it omits many of the minute points of the narrative. But the reader with a merely normal impulse, scholarly or otherwise, will find it very attractive. It is said in the preface that this volume is the result of many years of patient investigation. It treats of the colonies up to 1650. It is to be followed by others of like nature. How many are to be expected or how great a period is to be covered—we are not informed. It is to be hoped that the period will be long. It is impossible not to mention, also, the excellent manner in which the book is printed and the reasonable price for which it is offered.

JOHN S. BASSETT.

TRINITY COLLEGE.

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